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LIVES

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED

IRISHMEN.

LIVES
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED
IRISHMEN,
FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT PERIOD,
ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER,
AND EMBODYING A
HISTORY OF IRELAND IN THE LIVES OF IRISHMEN.

EDITED BY
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Author of Letters on the Philosophy of Unbelief, &c., &c., &c.

EMBELLISHED BY A SERIES OF HIGHLY-FINISHED PORTRAITS, SELECTED FROM
THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES, AND ENGRAVED BY EMINENT ARTISTS.

VOL. IV.—PART II.

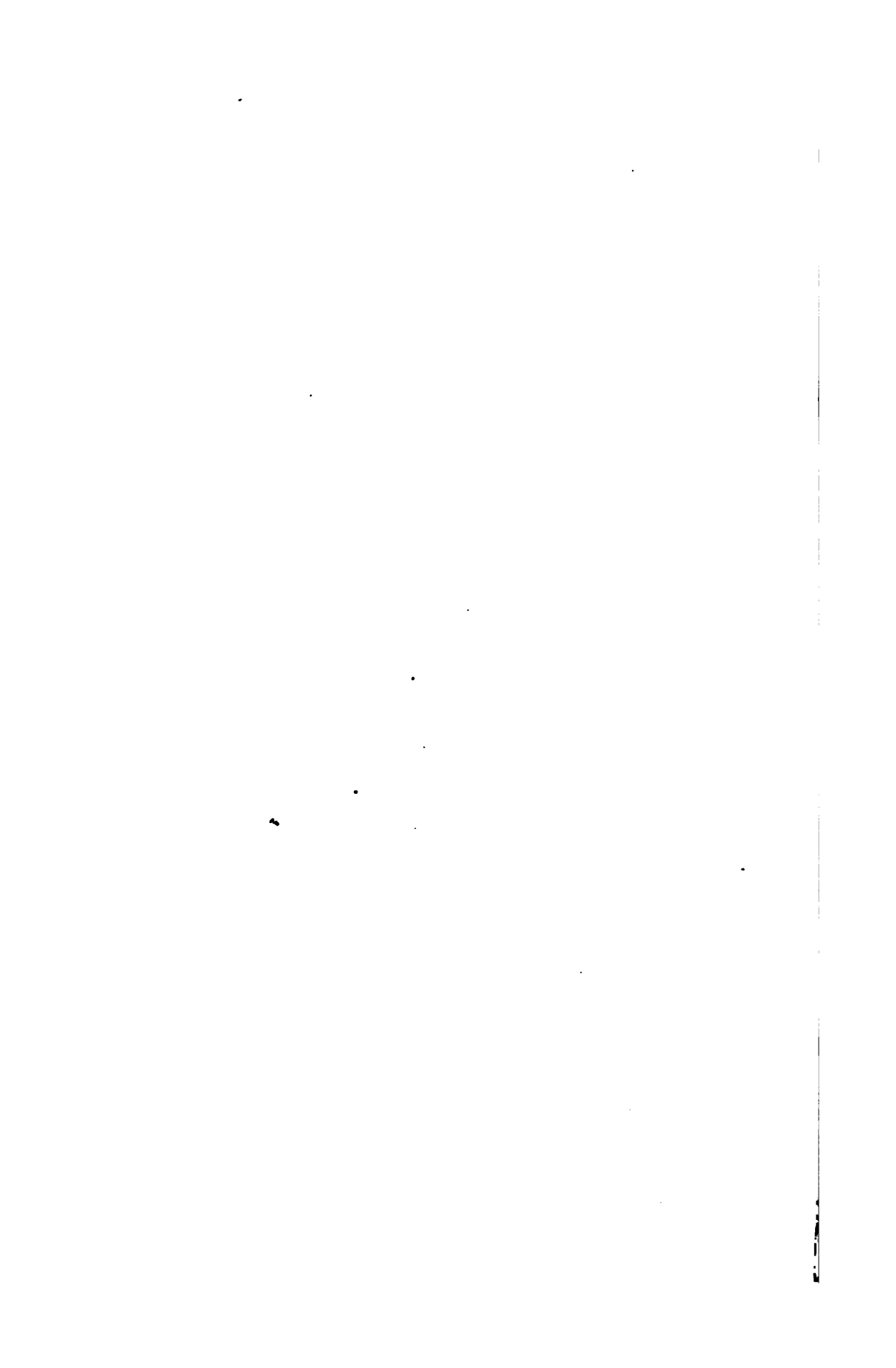
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Sir Hans Sloane, M.D.

From an Original Painting in the British Museum.

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This letter evidently implies the hope of immediate liberation, and accordingly he appears in a week after, at Say's court. This we learn with certainty from Evelyn's memoirs, in which he writes, "Feb 25, 1658. Came Dr Jeremy Taylor and my brothers, with other friends, to visit and condole with us." By the following entry, we trace him to March. "March 7th. To London to hear Dr Taylor in a private house, on xiii. Luke, 23, 24. After the sermon followed the blessed communion, of which I participated," &c.* There is some reason to suspect that the commitment of Taylor may have been irregular, at least on some subordinate authority, as Heber mentions in one of his notes that no traces of any order to this purpose appear in the minutes of the privy council. To account for this, he thinks it necessary to resort to the supposition that "in those arbitrary times, the committees and inferior agents of government exercised the power of imprisonment." In the same note he gives a letter written by Evelyn to the lieutenant of the Tower, which seems to involve such a probability. That Taylor's presence in London was still occasional, is inferred from the rareness of these notices of Evelyn's, and we think the inference not to be avoided: from this there is little if any deduction to be made on the consideration of the private nature of such occasions. It is generally indeed admitted by historical writers, that Cromwell was himself disinclined to measures of intolerance: our views of human nature as confirmed by historical precedent, would incline us to a similar belief: the sagacious usurper, who is raised to power by the prejudices of faction and the delusions of the people, is seldom quite sincere in his attachment to the violent moving principles by which he has been raised, and by which he may be reversed; the sooner he can allay the fluctuation of the waves, it will be his interest; and it is indeed thus that the extreme of licentious liberty so often terminates in the opposite of despotism. But Cromwell did not live to attain this consummation; the revolution which placed him on the seat of the British monarchy was yet to be completed by the exertion of his extraordinary vigilance, resolution and sagacity. The people of England had not been converted, but overwhelmed: and years of wise and successful government were wanting to set him free from the championship of fanaticism. The independents were the main column of his throne; the Presbyterians, though they favoured his government, were far less certain, and though they were less formidable by their relations with the state and army, yet held a far larger base in the mind of the country. Jealous too of the influence, power, and favour of the independents, they showed many symptoms of a restless disposition to press upward and break in upon the actual circle of his power. It was therefore a subject of the most anxious care and watchfulness to give these ambitious and powerful parties no *common* causes of discontent. Hence, while he endeavoured to gain the utmost possible extent of goodwill, by the most unfettered licentiousness of conscience, in every direction not immediately offensive to any prevalent party, he felt himself compelled to the utmost stretches of tyranny to the episcopal churches. Such a state of things well accounts for the clandestine

* Vol. i. p. 312.

meetings of the members of the church of England, as well as for the little record which can be traced of them. It indeed also helps to explain the difficulty which we have noticed above on the subject of imprisonments apparently unwarranted. Cromwell was frequently compelled to act on private information or suspicion, and when it suited his purpose, showed no respect to the forms of state. He might desire to put a suspected loyalist out of the way for a few weeks, without betraying him to the fanaticism of men like Harrison and Desborough, or the "three or four precious souls standing at his elbow," who were far more anxious for a spiritual tyranny of their own imagination, than for the power and safety of their master.

But the time had arrived which has left to Ireland the high privilege of numbering this excellent divine among her worthies. During some of his visits to London, he formed an acquaintance with lord Conway, who had been active in the service of the late king, and according to Mr Bonney's just conjecture, who was probably among the royalists who attended on his occasional ministry in London. This nobleman, feeling for the risks which Taylor incurred in the city, and possibly anxious to secure his services in the vicinity of his own extensive possessions, made him a proposal of which the nature can be inferred from the letter which we shall extract. This letter is imperfect from mutilation, a circumstance justly regretted by Heber, as he observes that the subject of usury is treated in it more rationally than was to be expected from a writer of his time.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

May 12th, 1628.

"Honoured Sir,

"I return you many thanks for your care of my temporal affaires; I wish I may be able to give you as good account of my watchfulness for your service, as you have of your diligence to doe me benefit. But concerning the thing itself I am to give you this account. I like not the condition of being a lecturer under the dispose of another, nor to serve in my semicircle, where a presbyterian and myselfe shall be like Castor and Pollux, the one up and the other downe; which meethinks is like the worshipping the sun, and making him the deity, that we may be religious halfe the yeare, and every night serve another interest. Sir, the stipend is so inconsiderable, it will not pay the charge and trouble of removing myselfe and family. It is wholly arbitrary; for the triers may overthrow it, and the vicar may forbid it; or the subscribers may die or grow weary, or poore, or be absent. I beseech you, Sir, pay my thanks to your friend, who had so much kindnesse for mee as to intend my benefitte, I thinke myselfe no lesse obliged to him and you than if I had accepted it.

"Sir, I am well pleased with the pious meditations and the extracts of a religious spirit which I read in your excellent letter. I can say nothing at present but this, that I hope in a short progression you will be wholly immersed in the delices and joyes of religion; and as I perceive your relish and gust of the things of the world goes off

continually, so you will be invested with new capacities, and entertained with new appetites, I say with new appetites,—for in religion every degree of love is a new appetite—as in the schooles we say, every single angel does make a species, and differs more than numerically from an angel of the same order.

“Your question concerning interest hath in it no difficulty as you have prudently stated it. For in the case you have only made yourself a merchant with them; onely you take leave that you be secured; as you pay a fine at the assurance office. I am onely to add this. You are neither directly nor collaterally to engage the debtor to pay more than is allowed by law. It is necessary that you employ your money some way for the advantage of your family. You may lawfully buy land, or traffique, or exchange it to your profit. You may doe this by yourselfe or another, and you may as well get something as he get more, and that as well by money as by land or goods; for one is as valuable in estimation of merchants and of all the world as any thing else can be; and meethinkes, no man should deny money to be valuable, that remembers, every man parts with what he hath for money; and as lands are of a price, then (when) they are sold for ever, and when they are parted with for a yeare, so is money; since the employment of it is apt to minister to gaine, as lands are to rent. Money and lands are equally the matter of increase; to both of them our industry must (be) applied, or else the profit will cease. Now as a tenant of lands may plough for mee, so a tenant of money may go to sea and traffique for me.” * * * * *

Taylor felt a natural reluctance to quit the land of his birth and the home of so many good friends and endearing associations; but the attraction of new prospects is strong to one whose life has been always a combat with difficulties; and the prospects which now perhaps awakened his imagination, were not without reasonable and strong foundation. The following letter of lord Conway is highly descriptive of the times, and shows the earnest interest he felt for Taylor. It is written to major Rawdon, his brother-in-law, who seems to have written “a discouraging account of the state of the country.

“Dear Brother

“That which you write me in your letter of the 2d of this month, was sufficient to have discouraged him and all his friends from any further thoughts of that country; but I thank God I went upon a principle not to be repented of, for I had no interest or passion in what I did for him, but rather some reluctance. What I pursued was to do an act of piety towards him, and an act of piety towards all such as are truly disposed to virtue in those parts, for I am certain he is the choicest person in England appertaining to the conscience; and let others blemish him how they please, yet all I have written of him is true. He is a man of excellent parts and an excellent life; but in regard that this is not powerful to purchase his quiet, I shall tell you what is done in relation to that Dr Petty hath written by him to Dr Harrison and several others, and promised to provide a purchase of land at great advantage, and many other intimate kindnesses, wherein your advice will be askt. Dr Cox, a physician, and a

very ingenious man, who hath married the chancellor's sister, hath written on his behalf very passionately, and some of so near relation to my lord Peepes, hath recommended him to him. Serjeant Twisden, one of the eminentest lawyers in England, who married Sir Matthew Tomlinson's sister, hath written to him very earnestly, and so hath his wife also. Mr Hall, an understanding man, and always one of the knights of Lincolnshire, hath recommended him to his friend Mr Bury, and so hath Mr Bacon, one of the masters of request done for him to my lord chief baron. But besides all this, my lord Protector hath given him a pass and a protection for himself and his family, under his sign manual and privy signet. So that I hope it will not be treason to look upon him and to own him. Dr Loftus is his friend. I have sent you and his sister a box of pills of the same proportion as that I sent last summer.

"Your affectionate brother,

"E. CONWAY.

"KENSINGTON, *June 15th, 1658.*"

By the strong interest that was thus exerted for him, by the dangerous and unsettled condition of the church in England, and by the prospects of peace and competence, Taylor was, however reluctantly, induced to consent to the wishes of the earl of Conway, and accept of a lectureship in Lisburn. A house was provided for him on lord Conway's estate near the mansion of Portmore, a splendid and princely edifice, after a plan by Inigo Jones, and of which the stables alone now remain. Taylor is said to have divided his residence between Lisburn and this place. For one like Taylor, of contemplative disposition and studious habits, it would not be easy to find a retreat more suitable. The park of Portmore is bordered by the calm expanse of Lough Neagh, gemmed with its fairy isles, and haunted by the traditionary shadows of ancient times and things, "the round towers of other days," supposed by the superstition of the place to lie beneath its waves. Comparing the description of Heber with the map, Portmore seems to lie between this lough which stretched off to the south, and the small lake Lough Beg on the north. On the borders of this latter lake, there is reason to believe that the old church stood, in which Heber tells us that he often preached to a small congregation of loyalists, as there yet is to be found an ancient churchyard on the water side,* an interesting feature in so calm and thoughtful a scene. According to the tradition of the place, it was Taylor's custom to retire for study or devotion to some of the islands, chiefly, it is said, to Ram Island in Lough Neagh, and to a small rock in Lough Beg. On the first, there are the ruins of a monastery and a round tower; "the other is," says Heber, "still more retired and solitary." Here his time was divided between his lectures and preaching, and the earnest prosecution of his elaborate and anxious work, the "*Ductor Dubitantium*;" and with all his manifest disadvantages, it is impossible not to agree with Heber in viewing it as the happiest part of his life. Away from the painted shadows and illusive hopes which constitute the sum and substance of

* Mant's Hist. of the Irish Church, i. 600.

the troubled passing stream of the world, free to converse with self, nature and God, to meditate on the interests and hopes of the eternal world, and labour for the kingdom of Christ and the true welfare of mankind: such a state was, to one of Taylor's intensely active spirit, equivalent to an approach to that higher state in which the cares and sorrows of this fleeting scene may be forgotten. In such a state, it is true, none can be long suffered to remain without many and painful interruptions; but it is to be hoped at least, that those cares which are all connected with important duties, and with the exercises of the highest spiritual graces, are to be met with calmer fortitude, and more pure and strenuous labour, by those to whom it is thus allowed to gather strength and spirit in pious and contemplative retirement. Of some such frame of spirit Taylor's letters bear pleasing evidence. They at the same time curiously convey the strong indication of that interest, which the remote noise of life carries into the "loopholes of retreat,"—a sense wholly distinct from the painful self-interestedness of those who are involved in the strife; and which, while it is not unpleasantly tinged with a softened gleam of hopes and wishes, is elevated by high affections, and soothed by the ordinary effect which remoteness and isolation produce. The clash and din of human pursuits melt as it were into the murmur of the stream of ages, and the lapsing current of human things. But we are castle-building in Lough Neagh and Lough Beg: like some one of Hazlitt's table-talkers, we keep good company, and forget ourselves.

The first of these letters, written from Ireland, is dated from Lisnagarvy, the ancient name of Lisburn. Heber observes that it is characterized by a cheerfulness which is not to be observed in the general tone of his former letters:—

To John Evelyn, Esquire.

" LISNAGARVY, April 9, 1659.

" Honoured Sir,

" I fear I am so unfortunate as that I forgot to leave with you a direction how you might, if you pleased to honour me with a letter, refresh my solitude with notice of your health and that of your relatives, that I may rejoice and give God thanks for the blessing of my honoured and dearest friends. I have kept close all the winter, that I might without interruption attend to the finishing of the employment I was engaged in, which now will have no longer delay than what it meetes in the printers' hands. But, Sir, I hope that by this time you have finished what you so prosperously begun—your owne Lucretius. I desire to receive notice of it from yourselfe, and what other designes you are upon in order to the promoting or adorning learning: for I am confident you will be as useful and profitable as you can be, that by the worthiest testimonies, it may by posterity be remembered that you did live. But, sir, I pray say to me something concerning the state of learning; how is any art or science likely to improve? what good bookes are lately publicke? what learned men, abroad or at home, begin anew to fill the mouth of fame, in the places of the dead Salmatius, Vossius, Mocelin, Sirmond, Rigaltius, Des Cartes, Galileo, Peiresk Petavius, and the excellent persons of

yesterday? I perceive here that there is a new set rising in England, the perfectionists; for three men that wrote an examen of the confession of faith of the assembly, whereof one was Dr Drayton, and is now dead, did state some very odde things; but especially one, in pursuance of the doctrine of Castellio, that it is possible to give unto God perfect unsinning obedience, and to have perfection of degrees in this life. The doctrine was opposed by an obscure person, one John Tendering; but learnedly enough and wittily maintained by another of the triumvirate, W. Parker, who indeed was the worst of the three; but he takes his hint from a sermon of Dr Drayton, which since his death, Parker hath published, and endeavors to justify. I am informed by a worthy person, that there are many of them who pretend to great sanctity and great revelations and skill in all scriptures, which they expound almost wholly to spiritual and mysterious purposes. I knew nothing, or but extremely little of them when I was in England; but further off I heare most newes. If you can inform yourselfe concerning them, I would faine be instructed concerning their designe and the circumstances of their life and doctrine; for they live strictly, and in many things speake rationally, and in some things very confidently. They excell the socinians in the strictness of their doctrine; but in my opinion fall extremely short of them in their expositions of practical scripture. If you enquire after the men of Dr Gell's church, possibly you may learne much; and, if I mistake not, the thing is worth enquiry. Their bookes are printed by Thomas Newcomb in London, but where, is not set downe. The examen of the assemblie's confession is highly worth perusing, both for the strangenesse of some of the things in it, and the learning of many of them.

"Sir, you see how I am glad to make an occasion to talke with you; though I can never want a just opportunity and little to write to you, as long as I have the memory of those many actions of loving kindnesse by which you have obliged,

"Honoured Sir,

"Your most affectionate and endeared

"Friend and humble servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

From the state of tranquil happiness which we have been assigning to Portmore, we are obliged reluctantly to make some considerable deductions. His means were far from that state of independence which is so permanently essential to comfort and peace of spirit: and he was compelled to receive the pension which the good and generous Evelyn still continued to pay, though from a diminished fortune. Taylor was also assailed by malice: a person of the name of Randy, a general agent residing in the neighbourhood, became jealous of the respect and kindness of which Taylor quickly became the general object. This chicaning miscreant felt his reptile self-importance wounded by the honour shown to one whose poverty he considered as the lowest demerit; and whose high virtues and noble understanding were beyond his comprehension. Nor was his eager malice slow to hunt out a vulnerable point: it was, he thought, enough to send information to the Irish privy council, that Taylor was a disaffected character, and had used

the sign of the cross in baptism. Taylor was incapable of bringing home to his mind the small springs of party, and the little motives which so often govern the acts of councils and cabinets, and could not entertain any serious apprehension, though his friends were deeply alarmed. In the following letter the matter is mentioned incidentally, and so as to indicate plainly how little it was in his thoughts:—

To John Evelyn, Esq.

“ PORTMORE, June 4, 1659.

“ HONOURED SIR,

“ I have reason to take a great pleasure that you are pleased so perfectly to retain me in your memory and affections, as if I were still neere you, a partner of your converse, or could possibly oblige you. But I shall attribute this so wholly to your goodness, your piety, and candour, that I am sure nothing on my part can incite or continue the least part of those civilities and endearments by which you have often, and still continue to oblige me. Sir, I received your two little bookes, and am very much pleased with the golden booke of St Chrysostom, on which your epistle hath put a black enamel, and made a pretty monument for your dearest, strangest miracle of a boy; and when I read it, I could not choose but observe St Paul's rule: *flebam cum flentibus*. I paid a tear at the hearse of that sweet child. Your other little enchiridion is an emanation of an ingenious spirit; and there are in it observations, the like of which are seldom made by young travellers; and though by the publication of these you have been civil and courteous to the commonwealth of learning, yet I hope you will proceed to oblige us in some greater instances of your owne. I am much pleased with your waye of translation; and if you would proceed in the same method, and give us in English some devout pieces of the fathers, and your own annotations upon them, you would doe profit and pleasure to the publicke. But Sir, I cannot easily consent that you should lay aside your Lucretius, and having been requitted yourselfe by your labour, I cannot perceive why you should not give us the same recreation, since it will be greater to us than it could be to you to whom it was alloyed by your great labour: especially you having given us so large an essay of your ability to doe it; and the world having given you an essay of their acceptation of it.

“ Sir, that Pallivicim whom you mention is the author of the late history of the council of Trent, in two volumes in folio, in Italian. I have seen it, but had not leisure to peruse it so much as to give any judgment of the man by it. Besides this, he hath published two little manuals in 12mo, *Assertionum Theologicarum*, but these speake but very little of the man. His history, indeed, is a great undertaking, and his family (for he is of the Jesuit order,) use to selle the book by crying up the man: but I thinke I saw enough to suspect the expectation is much bigger than the thing. It is no wonder that Baxter undervalues the gentry of England: you know what spirit he is of, but I suppose he hath met with his match; for Mr Piers hath attacked, and they are joined in the lists. I have not seen Mr Thorndike's booke. You make me desirous of it, because you call it elaborate: but I like not

the title nor the subject, and the man is indeed a very good and learned man, but I have not seen much prosperity in his writings: but if he have so well chosen the questions, there is no peradventure, but he hath tumbled into his heap many choice materials. I am much pleased that you promise to enquire into the way of the perfectionists; but I thinke L. Pembroke, and Mrs Joy, and the lady Wildgoose, are none of the number. I assure you some very learned and very sober persons have given up their names to it. Castello is their great patriarch; and his dialogue *An per spir. S. homo possit perfecte obedire legi Dei*, is their first essay. Parker hath written something lately of it, and in Dr Gell's last booke in folio there is much of it. Indeed you say right that they take in Jacob Behmen, but that is upon another account, and they understand him as nurses doe their children's imperfect language; something by use, and much by fancy. I hope, Sir, in your next to me, (for I flatter myself to have the happiness of receiving a letter from you sometimes), you will account to me of some hopes concerning your settlement, or some peace to religion. I fear my peace in Ireland is likely to be short; for a presbyterian and a madman have informed against me as a dangerous man to their religion; and for using the signe of the crosse in baptism. The worst event of the information which I feare is my return into England; which although I am not desirous it should be upon these terms; yet if it be without much violence, I shall not be much troubled.

"Sir, I doe account myselfe extremely obliged to you for your kindness and charity in your continued care of me and bounty to me; it is so much the more because I have almost from all men but yourselfe, suffered some diminution of their kindnesse, by reason of my absence: for as the Spaniard says, "the dead and the absent have but few friends." But, Sir, I account myselfe infinitely obliged to you much for your pension, but exceedingly much more for your affection, which you have so signally expressed. I pray, Sir, be pleased to present my humble service to your two honoured brothers: I shall be ashamed to make any addresse, or pay my thanks to them in words, till my rule of conscience be publicke, and that is all the way I have to pay my debts; that and my prayers that God would. Sir, Mr Martin, bookseller, at the Bell, St Paul's church-yard, is my correspondent in London, and whatsoever he receives, he transmits to me carefully; and so will Mr Royston, tho' I do not often employ him now. Sir, I fear I have tired you with an impertinent letter, but I have felt your charity to be so great as to doe much more than to pardon the excesse of my affections. Sir, I hope that you and I remember one another when we are upon our knees. I doe not thinke of coming to London till the latter end of summer or the spring, if I can enjoy quietness here: but then I doe if God permit, beg to be in the interval refreshed by a letter from you at your leisure, for indeed it will be a great pleasure and endearment to,

"Honoured Sir,

"Your very obliged, most affectionate,

"and humble servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

To this we must add the letter written by the earl of Conway on the occasion: which, as Heber observes, does him much honour. It will convey to the reader a more correct notion of the danger, by showing how it was regarded, by one who knew the world, and the true composition of its ruler's councillors.

"I received a letter yesterday from Dr Taylor; it hath almost broke my heart. Mr Tandy hath exhibited articles against him to the lord deputy and council, so simple, (as colonel Hill writes,) that it is impossible it should come to anything: the greatest scandal being, that he christened Mr Bryer's child with the sign of the cross. I have written to Hyrne to supply him with money for his vindication, as if it were my own business. I hope, therefore, when you come over you will take him (Tandy) off from persecuting me, since none knows better than yourself whether I deserve it at his hands. I would have sent you the doctor's letter to me, but that I know not whether this will ever come to you. The quarrel is, it seems, because he thinks Dr Taylor more welcome to Hillsborough than himself.

"E. CONWAY.

"KENSINGTON, June 14, 1559."

The fears of Taylor and his good friends were, however, to be of short duration. He was brought to Dublin by a warrant directed to the governor of Carrickfergus: but he was subjected to no annoyance further than a fatiguing and harassing journey in very bad weather, of which the consequence was a severe fit of illness upon his arrival. He was thus, perhaps, saved from any further proceeding, as it is likely that during the interval of his indisposition, the members of the council had time to obtain more correct information, and a view of the matter more consistent with the real characters of the parties: Heber thinks that his illness was made a plea for "letting him off more easily." However this may have been, it seems nearly certain that he was not brought before the privy council, as no entry to this effect has been found on the minutes.

At this time also he seems to have suffered from some depredation committed on his farm: this appears from a statement of Lady Wray's, whom Heber quotes. She, as the bishop justly remarks, was under an obvious mistake as to the offending party, whom she describes to be Sir Phelim O'Neil. As the reader of this history must be aware, Sir Phelim was then dead for many years. The country was, however, at the time, in an unsettled state; the powers of the parliamentary government, at no time established on a secure basis, were enfeebled by the commotions which preceded their total overthrow, and various predatory parties infested the country.

Among the Irish peasantry, he was at the same time become an object of respect amounting to veneration; and evidently lived on terms of the kindest intercourse with them. This most creditable and praiseworthy circumstance, appears to have been tortured by the high party prejudices of the Cromwellians into the old charge of a leaning to popery. This calumny he is mentioned to have complained of in his "Letters to persons who have changed their religion;" which,

says Heber, "though not now published, appear to have been written at this time." The only work which he published in this year was the "Ephesian Matron," a story told by Petronius, and introduced into a previous work, the "Holy Living and Dying," from which Mr Bonney thinks it to have been now extracted by the bookseller.

A letter of the same year to Dr John Sterne, is given in Heber's life as the only remaining specimen of Taylor's latinity, excepting the epitaph on Lady Carberry. Sterne was the professor of natural philosophy in the university of Dublin, and the letter was published in his *Θανατολογία*. We extract it from Heber.

"Viro amicissimo et integerrimo Johanni Stearne, Medicinæ et Philosophiæ, Professori Doctissimo, *ευχαριστιν*.

"Quamprimum earum mihi facta est copia, in schedas tuas involaverunt oculi et mens, amor et acumen, et tota quanta est curiositatis suppellex, ut discernere quicquid id fuit quod parturiens et ferax ingenium in lucem hodiernam destinârat bono publico.

"Tam recte novi ingenium tuum, Stearni doctissime, ex monumentis publicis, et privatis præclaræ tuæ eruditionis indicibus, ut difficile non fuerit hariolari quid intus lateret in Enchirido quod festinantius singularis tua humanitas præmiserat, enimvero, nec falsus fui. Præsensit enim animus me in hisce tabulis, ingenii cupedias et bellaria, philosophiæ inventa non vulgaria, rationis *ἄηρον ἔννεμα*, artis medicæ, quam hodie in Hiberniæ metropoli adornas, specimen non mediocre: at cum irrueram in interloquium, (placide enim et moderate tot *τραγήματα* adire, nec enim diffitebor, impos plane fui,) me divinum sensi; et quem prægustaveram, lepide quidem vaticinatus qualem perlecturus eram libellum, cum demum aut avidius, ne totum non exhaurirem aut pitissans, ne citius quam volueram clauderetur festum, certe mira cum ingluvie non uno modo ordinata, ingessi in animum meum; et tandem ruminans quod delibaveram, sensi clarissime (et lætatus sum) scientiæ reconditoris arcana reserata, ingenii incomparabilis *ἐπιχειρήματα* veritatis illustre et ingenium ministerium, et quæstiones nodosas satis; sed nec inutiles, quas quæ aut solvisti dextre aut dissecuisti strenue, in omnibus vel Aristoteli Alexandro suppar; adeo ut non ineptum judicaverim gratulari reipublicæ literariæ hoc novum emergens decus, imo et tibi in aurem insusurrare quam feliciter Spartam hanc exornaveris; certe bono publico, honori Academiæ Dubliniensis, usui et ornamento literatorum, saluti sedentis et desidis turbæ cogitabundorum hominum, quin imo et inclytæ famæ tuæ. Tantum est nihil enim superest, nisi ut te amem, ut legam, ut relegam, et ut (quod vovit Socrates in intuitu et speculatione mortis,) ego pro tuis de morte præclaris lucubrationibus et longævitatibus salutaribus documentis nuncuparem Gallum Æsculapio; vel potius tibi (quod Apollinis filio Heracleides constituit) *ελαίου κρηνην χρυσήν του ογδου*. Serpentem autem et canem in æde Æsculapii tu cave. Etenim non ita pridem sensisti mordacium animalculorum morsiunculas. Vale.

"Ex amænissimo recessu in Portmore dedit

"JEREMIAS TAYLOR,

"S.S. Th. Professor."

We next have to present a letter of, perhaps, nearly the same time, but far more characteristic of the writer.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"Honoured and Deare Sir,

"Yours dated the 23d, I received not till All Saints' day: it seemes it was stopped by the intervening troubles in England; but it was lodged in a good hand, and came safely and unbroken to me. I must needs beg the favour of you that I may receive from you an account of your health, and present conditions, and of your family; for, I feare concerning all my friends, but especially for those few very choice ones I have, lest the present troubles may have done them any violence in their affaires or content. It is now long since that cloud passed; and, though I suppose the sky is yet full of meteors and evil prognostics, yet, you all have time to consider concerning your peace and your securities. That was not God's time to relieve his church, and I cannot understand from what quarter that wind blew, and whether it was for or against us. But God disposes all things wisely; and religion can receive no detriment or diminution but by our owne fault. I long, Sir, to come to converse with you; for, I promise to myselfe that I may receive from you an excellent account of your progression in religion, and that you are entered into the experimental and secret way of it, which is that state of excellency whether [whither] good persons use to arrive after a state of repentance and caution. My retirement in this solitary place hath been, I hope, of some advantage to me as to this state of religion, in which I am yet but a novice; but, by the goodnesse of God, I see fine things before me whither I am contending. It is a great but a good worke, and I beg of you to assist me with your prayers, and to obtaine of God for me that I may arrive to that height of love and union with God, which is given to all soules who are very deare to God. Sir, if it please God, I propose to be in London in April next, where I hope for the comfort of conversing with you. In the meane time, be pleased to accept my thanks for your great kindnesse in taking care of me in that token you were pleased to leave with Mr Martin. I am sorry the evil circumstances of the times made it any way afflictive or inconvenient. I had rather you should not have been burdened, than that I should have received kindnesse on hard conditions to you. Sir, I shall not trouble your studies now, for, I suppose you are very busy there; but I shall desire the favour that I may know what you are now doing, for you cannot separate your affairs from being of concerne to,

"Deare Sir,

"Your very affectionate friend,

"and humble servant,

"JER. TAYLOR.

"PORTMORE, November 3d, 1659."

On this letter, bishop Heber gives the following just and discriminating comment. "With such humility did the author of the 'Holy

Living and Dying,' regard his own attainments in religion, and such were his impressions of the happiness and consolations even in this life, conferred by a pure and exalted piety." If there is something mystic in the tone which he adopts, and we are reminded in spite of ourselves, of his previous inquiries concerning the perfectionists, let it be remembered that his subsequent, no less than his preceding writings, bear testimony to his freedom from any error of this kind; and that his devotion through life appears to have continued, as we have hitherto seen it, however intense, however unremitted, however (I had almost said) seraphic; yet, practical, peaceful, energetic, and orderly; of a kind which, instead of seeking food in visions of enthusiastic rapture, or displaying itself in a fantastical adoption of new toys and instruments of theopathy, made him the better friend, the better parent, the better servant of the state, the better member and governor of that church which he had defended in her deepest adversities." We cannot within any reasonable compass express the volume of reflection suggested by the latter part of this pregnant passage. But happily, indeed, there is now the less need, as all topics connected with the practice of Christian piety receive a large portion of the public attention, and employ a reasonable portion of the soundest intellect of the day. The character of the meek and humble follower of Jesus, who walks in faith, hope, and charity, instructed and led by the precept and pattern found in the Word of life, and giving God the worship of the heart and not of fallible human reason, is now better known by numerous and abundant examples, than it has been, perhaps, at any time since the reformation. Though, unhappily there are, and during the present constitution of the world will continue to be, enough who want to learn that the Almighty who has revealed his will to man, will not allow any religion of human invention to be substituted for that which he has given. And, that the rationalizings of intellectual theory, or the reveries of morbid excitement, whatever of their myriad forms they wear, when weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, will be but madness and folly. The religion of opinions is agreeable to the love of mental stimulus—and the religion of mere morals, is the easy compromise of social necessity, prudence, and the natural affections. Yet it seems strange that those who pride themselves in the use of reason, will not see, that any religion which omits the simplest enunciations of Holy Writ, must be false in theory; and any which sets aside the love and fear of God, defective in practice.

An important change in Taylor's life was at hand, and the following letter intimates his approaching journey to London, where he was to receive that exaltation which his services so fully deserved.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

"PORTMORE, February 10th, 1659-60.

"Honoured and Deare Sir,

"I received yours of December 2d, in very good time; but although it came to me before Christmas, yet it pleased God, about that time to lay his gentle hand upon me; for I had beene, in the worst of our winter weather, sent for to Dublin by

our late anabaptist commissioners; and found the evil of it so great, that in my going I began to be ill; but in my return, had my ill redoubled and fixed: but it hath pleased God to restore my health, I hope 'ad majorem Dei gloriam;' and now that I can easily write, I return you my very hearty thanks for your very obliging letter, and particularly for the enclosed. Sir, the apology you were pleased to send me I read both privately, and heard it read publicly with no little pleasure and satisfaction. The materials are worthy and the dress is clean, and orderly, and beauteous; and I wish that all men in the nation were obliged to read it twice: it is impossible but it must doe good to those guilty persons to whom it is not impossible to repent. Your character hath a great part of a worthy reward, that it is translated into a language in which it is likely to be read by very many 'beaux esprits.' But that which I promise to myself as an excellent entertainment, is your Elysium Britannicum. But, Sir, seeing you intend it to the purposes of piety, as well as pleasure, why doe you not rather call it Paradisus than Elysium; since the word is used by the Hellenish Jewes to signify any place of spiritual and immaterial pleasure, and excludes not the material and secular. Sir, I know you are such a 'curieux,' and withal so diligent and inquisitive, that not many things of the delicacy of learning, relating to your subject, can escape you; and, therefore, it would be great imprudence in me to offer my little mite to your already digested heape. I hope ere long to have the honour to waite on you, and to see some parts and steps of your progression: and then if I see I can bring any thing to your building; though but hair and stickes, I shall not be wanting in expressing my readinesse to serve and to honour you, and to promote such a worke, than which, I thinke in the world, you could not have chosen a more apt and a more ingenious.

Sir, I doe really beare a share in your feares and your sorrowes for your deare boy. I doe and shall pray to God for him; but I know not what to say in such things. If God intends, by these clouds to convey him and you to brighter graces, and more illustrious glories respectively; I dare not with too much passion speake against the so great good of a person that is so deare to me, and a child that is so deare to you. But I hope that God will doe what is best: and I humbly beg of him to choose what is that best for you both. As soon as the weather and season of the spring gives leave, I intend by God's permission, to returne to England: and when I come to London with the first to waite on you, for whom I have so great regard, and from whom I have received so many testimonies of a worthy friendship, and in whom I know so much worthinesse is deposited.

"I am, most faithfully and cordially,

"Your very affectionate and obliged servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

Taylor's visit to London had, it is supposed, no further design than the last revision of his "Ductor Dubitantium," then in the press: the thoughtful reader will easily conjecture a variety of inducements common to every man under similar circumstances, and from which we cannot see the necessity of assuming Taylor to have been altogether

exempt. Besides, the natural desire which a man of letters, and a man of many strong affections, must ever feel to visit the centre of literary resort, and the scene of many ties of regard and respect: the moment was pregnant with vast interest in every way for a known loyalist of his reputation, and old connexion with the court. His journey, says Heber, "was as well-timed as if he was in the secret of Monk's intentions." Of these intentions a general surmise pervaded the kingdom, and was, as sometimes occurs, more lively in places more remote from the centre. The people formed opinions from their earnest wishes, and from a common feeling of the tendency of events not beyond the reach of popular common sense—while they were unimpressed by several expedients with which Monk disguised his intentions from those who might be supposed to watch him most narrowly. It is thus that those who are nearest and most concerned are often the last to divine what is to come.

On the 24th April, 1660, the day before the meeting of that parliament which, in a few days, restored the kingdom, there was a meeting of the loyalists of London and its environs, who issued a declaration of the sentiments expressive of their confidence in Monk. Among the signatures to this declaration, was that of Jeremy Taylor. He was thus placed in the most advantageous point of view before the king and his advisers: and with pretensions to notice not exceeded by those of any other member of his profession; the splendour of his reputation both as a preacher and writer; the exalted worth of his character; his signal piety; the devotion with which he had served the late king, and the persecutions he had suffered in consequence of his well approved loyalty, were all matters too notorious to be overlooked; nor had the moment yet arrived when Charles, with the proverbial ingratitude of princes, felt privileged to overlook past merits. The shortlived ebullition of royal gratitude lasted long enough for the exaltation of Taylor; to whose claims we should have added one the most likely to be serviceable, that he had gained the respect and approbation even of his enemies. A motive of a different kind, though not less a tribute to his worth, is thought by Heber or some of his authorities, to have influenced the generosity of Charles—he was as anxious to remove the christian moralist, as Cromwell to remove the loyalist: if so, he could not have fallen upon a better expedient, than to improve upon the Protector's example and send the subject whose virtues were sufficient to overawe an usurped throne, and a licentious court, to Ireland. How far the dedication of his great work may have had its share is little worth computing, as it is morally improbable that either Charles, or any one about him, ever spent a second thought on the matter; and finally, to say what we think, we presume that the only moving influence was the first impulse of the restored monarch to give satisfaction to those whose office of restorers was not quite concluded before Taylor's appointment to the Bishoprick of Down and Connor. This took place on the 6th August, 1650, a little more than two months from the king's arrival, when he was nominated by the privy seal, and immediately after by the influence of the Duke of Ormonde elected vice-chancellor of the University of Dublin.

This appointment was not unsatisfactory to Taylor, whose affections

had already been strongly called forth to Ireland and its people, whom he loved, and who returned his regard: there he had passed the most calm and settled years of his life—his family was already there and like himself won to the place. His promotion was still not unattended with a host of disadvantages and difficulties; the Irish church was yet in a state of disorganization; its revenues dilapidated and its order and discipline dissolved and disarranged. The state of the university was no less ruinous: the Cromwellian government had both seized upon its estates, of which large portions had been alienated, and obtruded unfit persons into its fellowship, by arbitrary appointments or irregular elections. There was at the time of Taylor's appointment, not one fellow or scholar who had been legally elected. Taylor proposed, as the only practicable course under such circumstances, that he, the archbishop of Dublin, and the new provost appointed by the crown, should be empowered to elect seven senior fellows. The Marquess of Ormonde, however, was reluctant to suffer a power which he considered to be placed in his own hands, to devolve to any other authority; but still considering Taylor's proposal as substantially the more expedient procedure, he desired that he and the provost would recommend five persons, who might be appointed by himself, as minister of the crown in Ireland. Such was the course adopted; it presented an opportunity to Taylor of providing for his friend Dr Sterne. This person was in fact incapacitated by marriage as the statutes then stood: but Taylor pleaded for him the difficulty of finding persons qualified by their learning to fill such a station. Thus he had the satisfaction of obtaining for his friend a station of honourable independence suited to his tastes and acquirements. By the statement of Carte, Sterne appears to have been connected with the university: he was living in a house which belonged to it, and was largely acquainted with its constitution and affairs, so that Taylor was justified in the representation, that his experience was indispensable for their purpose. The other appointments were Joshua Cowley, Richard Singard, William Vincent, and Patrick Sheridan: these appointments formed the nucleus for the restoration of our university. The chancellor could in virtue of his office give them the necessary degrees; but their power as a legal corporation to exercise an ownership over the college estate could only come from the crown. This was, however, quickly arranged, and it only remained to re-establish and complete the statutes and discipline of the university. This weighty task was committed to the hands of Taylor, who probably availed himself largely of the experience of his friend Dr Sterne. He collected, arranged, and revised the statutes left incomplete by Bedell, and settled the forms and the course of studies and lectures; thus, says Bishop Heber, "laying the basis of that distinguished reputation which the university of Dublin has since attained."

In his diocese the labours of Taylor were far more arduous. There he was encountered by obstacles sufficient to neutralize ordinary effort, ability, or virtue. These obstacles we have already had to dwell upon, and shall not therefore return to them here. Suffice it to say, that the diffusion of puritanism the known effect of the recent convulsions, prevailed most in the diocese of Down. The episcopal

clergy had been swept away, and their places supplied from the ranks of those dissenters, who while they differed in forms, agreed in doctrine with the protestant church. But as Heber justly remarks, their animosity appeared to be great in proportion to the minuteness of the essential causes of disagreement: and it was by slow degrees that the patient and charitable deportment, the exemplary life and able conduct of the bishop succeeded in gaining over the opinion of the laity to his side. They witnessed his exertions to soften by candour and kindness, the hostility by which his first advances were opposed: they justly appreciated the rejection of his invitations to settle by conference the points of disagreement. In reply to all his kindness, his patience, his liberality, eloquence and laborious exertion, the pulpits of his diocese resounded with denunciation and defiance: the preachers even carried their hostility so far as to enter into a compact among themselves "to speak with no bishop, and to endure neither their government nor their persons." Such virulence, without any proportioned occasion, could not stand the test of that common sense, which in ordinary times prevails in the reasonable portion of society: and at length the nobility and gentry of the united dioceses came over to the bishop. And even upon the clergy themselves such was the influence of his character and conduct, and so well directed his efforts, that the same effect was produced, though more slowly: so that when the act of uniformity was soon after passed, the greater number were found to be exempt from any consequence of its operation.

It was not only by his wise and christian conduct in the discharge of his episcopal duties, that Taylor displayed the combined wisdom and moderation of temper and spirit which composed his character. He had been appointed in this critical juncture of restoration and reaction, to preach before the two houses of parliament; and availed himself of the occasion to inculcate sentiments of mercy and moderation where they were most wanting: while at the same time he reproved the captious and violent spirit of dissent which appeared to menace the existence of christianity itself, in a country in which every christian grace seemed to have been parched and blasted, by the long prevalent rancour of spiritual contention. He pointed out in forcible terms, the inconsistency of those who were zealous even to blood for forms, costumes, and phrases; while they seemed forgetful of christian holiness and charity, and substituted the gall and wormwood of human hate, for that love by which the followers of their master were to be known. In consistence with such exhortations he set before his auditors the wide-spreading calamities and sufferings which must needs follow on the execution of the then impending confiscations. He cautioned them against being biassed by interest, or by the thoughts of revenge, or the love of spoil, or by prejudice or pretended zeal,—or being warped from justice, by the sense of supposed national interests, or by the pretences of different religion. By an affecting image, he reminded them of the inconsistency of human affections and sympathies, and recalled their feelings to the truth. "If you do but see a maiden carried to her grave, a little before her intended marriage, an infant die before the birth of reason, nature has taught us to pay a tributary tear. Alas! your eyes will behold the ruin of many families, which, though they

sadly have deserved, yet mercy is not delighted with the spectacle; and therefore God places a watery cloud in the eye, that when the light of heaven shines on it, it may produce a rainbow, to be a sacrament and a memorial that God and the sons of God do not love to see a man perish. God never rejoices in the death of him that dies, and we also esteem it indecent to have music at a funeral. And as religion teaches us to pity a condemned criminal, so mercy intercedes for the most benign interpretation of the laws. You must indeed be as just as the laws,—and you must be as merciful as your religion,—and you have no way to tie these together, but to follow the pattern in the mount—do as God does, who in judgment remembers mercy!”

Under the pressure of such trying difficulties which demanded so largely the exertion of his thoughts and the devotion of his time, there must needs have been comparatively little time for the pursuits of literature: the following letter adverts to his writings during this interval.

John Evelyn, Esq.

“Deare Sir,—

“Your own worthiness and the obligations you have so passed upon me, have imprinted in me so great a value and kindness to your person, that I thinke myself not a little concerned in your selfe, and all your relations, and all the great accidents of your life. Doe not therefore thinke me either impertinent or otherwise without employment, if I doe with some care and earnestnesse inquire into your health and the present condition of your affaires. Sir, when shall we expect your ‘Terrestrial Paradise,’ your excellent observations and discourses of gardens, of which I had a little posy presented to me by your own kind hand, and makes me long for more. Sir, I and all that understand excellent fancy, language, and deepest loyalty, are bound to value your excellent panegyric, which I saw and read with pleasure. I am pleased to read your excellent mind in so excellent (an) idea; for as a father in his son’s face, so is a man’s soule imprinted in all the pieces that he labours. Sir, I am so full of publike concernes and the troubles of businesse in my diocese, that I cannot yet have leisure to thinke of much of my old delightful employment. But I hope I have brought my affaires almost to a consistence, and then I may returne againe. Royston (the Bookseller) hath two sermons, and a little collection of rules for my clergy, which had been presented to you if I had thought (them) fit for notice, or to send to my dearest friends.

“Deare Sir, I pray let me hear from you as often as you can, for you will very much oblige me if you will continue to love me still. I pray give my love and deare regards to worthy Mr Thurland: let me heare of him and his good lady, and how his son does. God blesse you and yours, him and his.

“I am,

“Deare Sir,

“Your most affectionate friend,

“JEREM. DUNENSIS.”

This letter, we are informed by Heber, is the last which has been discovered of the correspondence between these two eminent persons, which had been continued so many years, and which is so honourable a testimony to both. It is supposed by the bishop to have first slackened on the part of Evelyn; but we think it unnecessary to assume on this ground any diminution of regard. Such fallings off are unhappily too frequent a result of human affections, and we cordially subscribe to the just and eloquent reflection of Heber, on the proof thus afforded: "how vain is that life, when even our best and noblest ties are subject to dissolution and decay," &c. But, though this sad condition of our state must be admitted for a common truth, yet we are inclined to make a favourable exception for the nobler, and, above all, the holier spirits, whose paths in life are to be traced throughout in deeds of charity, and in the exercise of the best affections. The growing selfishness of human pursuits soon corrupts and withers the youthful affections, by which it is moderated for a few years; and having gained the supremacy, ejects all rival regards, and makes a sad cold void of the heart. But there is a far more obvious and honourable view of that estrangement, which so often occurs between the noblest friends: as life advances, its cares and duties thicken upon our paths with a strength proportioned to that of the man; while our powers and energies, from the moment of the highest pressure, or mostly sooner, begin, with an accelerating rapidity, to decline. Engagements multiply, and languor increases; while the fervid impulse of youthful passions ceases to administer its fuel. The difficulties of letter-writing will thus ever be found to present a serious obstacle to the prolongation of intercourse between the most tried friends; for, unless where there is a natural predisposition to epistolary garrulity, the mere want of matter, and the energy of spirit which moves to thinking and language, will be found sufficient reason for procrastination, which must soon necessarily amount to cessation. Before they arrive at the maturity of experience, wise men have learned the emptiness of human speculations, and the narrow limit of their faculties: experience has made common the trite iterations of life, and thrown the vail of impenetrable darkness over the unfathomed vastitudes beyond it. The anxious confidences of hope and fear have departed; there is no impulse to communicate the "weariness" of age. Such is the general tendency, which in every special case has some peculiar cause of increase or diminution.

In the same year, Taylor had to sustain a heavy affliction, in the loss of the only surviving son of his second marriage, who was buried at Lisburn, 10th March, 1661. Little can be ascertained concerning his private history during this interval of his life; and we can do no more than mention the few incidents which have escaped oblivion. He rebuilt the choir of his cathedral church of Dromore at his own expense, and his wife contributed the communion plate. He also at the same time invited over George Rust, fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, with a promise of the deanery of Connor, then expected to become soon vacant. He continued to reside at Portmore, where he preserved his close intimacy with the Conway family, and rendered himself beloved by the people of all ranks through the surrounding district, by

his benevolence and the ready kindness of his charity, and the affability of his address and conversation. Heber observes, that the only particulars which can be gleaned of his life in this place are due to his connexion with a ghost story, which has found its way into the records of human superstition. It is related that, in the year 1662, on the eve of Michaelmas day, a spirit appeared to one Francis Taverne, a servant of lord Donegal, on horseback and dressed in a white coat, and made certain disclosures to him for the purpose of recovering the rights of an orphan son, who had been fraudulently or wrongfully deprived by his mother's second husband. This curious tale may be found in the fullest detail in the notes to Heber's life of Taylor. We should willingly extract it here, but from the necessity which we feel to avoid protracting this memoir with stories, of which there is a full abundance to be found in numerous popular works. It would be still more in character with the plan on which these memoirs are written, to dwell on the curious moral and intellectual phenomena connected with this class of traditions; their early prevalence in human history; the remarkable analogy which seems to pervade them, so as to offer something like that traceable law of occurrence which is the usual indication of some causal principle; and, finally, to point out the errors in reasoning on either side, to which the credulous and incredulous classes of mankind, standing at the opposite extremes of error, are led by their several prejudices and prepossessions. For this end, we shall, indeed, be enabled to avail ourselves of a better occasion, though on a different topic.

It was remarked, with some bitterness, that Taylor took a part in this affair, which seemed to indicate that he did not quite discredit the story. But it is evident that no such inference could be drawn from any course pursued by one, who may have felt it advisable to propose the tests best adapted for the exposure of a fraud, to those who might be more easily deceived. Heber observes, and shows that his writings afford strong ground for an opposite inference. But we do not think the point of any moment. Taylor clearly exhibits his disbelief, by the use of arguments, which, like all those we have ever met, are not very conclusive. It is unfortunately an old pervading error of human reason, to consider all questions as within its cognizance, and in default of satisfactory proofs or disproofs, to consider it legitimate to apply the nearest that can be found; and overlook the sure law, that the conclusion, on either side, cannot be more certain than the premises.

There is a question of more importance, connected with a sermon which Taylor preached this year before the university, in which he has set his notions of toleration on a most clear and just ground. According to this view, the just limit of toleration is to be found in the just conservation of social interests: in any society, whether lay or ecclesiastical, the first right is that of self-preservation, without which neither churches nor states can stand. Those, therefore, who hold tenets practically inconsistent with the body politic or ecclesiastical, cannot be entertained as constituent members of that body. Such appears to be the inexpugnable ground on which Taylor took his stand, equally remote from those who are governed by sectarian feelings and revolutionary licence. Heber quotes two passages, one from

the "Liberty of Prophesying," and the other from the sermon here noticed, to show the consistency of his views at the several periods.

In 1663, Taylor published "A Defence and Introduction to the Rite of Confirmation," which he dedicated to the duke of Ormonde—three sermons preached at Christ Church, Dublin, and the funeral sermon on the death of primate Bramhall, "full," says Heber, "of curious information concerning the secret history of the times, and the pains which had been taken, with more success than was then generally known or apprehended, to pervert the exiled king from the faith of his countrymen."

He was also at the same time engaged on the last work which he lived to publish, the "Dissuasive from Popery," a work undertaken at the desire of the Irish bishops. Much success from such efforts to enlighten the poor Irish was not to be hoped; and Taylor, who undertook the task with some reluctance, was not sanguine in his expectations. He had the sagacity to perceive that truths so obvious to all unprejudiced minds, and prejudices which were identified with political distinctions, and with the national feelings to which such distinctions gave birth and permanency, were not to be reduced by reason. He also perceived the hopelessness of such a reliance, in the peculiar situation of the people, when the only provision for their instruction was in a language of which they were then totally ignorant. And thus, while their pride and affections were bruised and outraged by a policy of which they could in some degree feel the consequences, they were left in total darkness as to the grounds, form, and worship, of the religion which was pressed upon them solely as the religion of a people they were taught to hate. Some efforts had been made to redeem our countrymen from this afflicting condition. Usher, Bedell, and afterwards Boyle, attempted, by promoting a knowledge of the Irish tongue among the clergy, or by translations of the Scripture and liturgy, to break down the wall which shut in the people within their enclosure of superstition and barbarism. But such efforts were more difficult than can at first sight be calculated; and Heber observes, with truth, that even to our own times the evil has been suffered to continue. The English government, he observes, preferred the policy of endeavouring to enforce the dissemination of the English language. Such an object we consider of the utmost importance to the civilization of the country; but we think it a fatal truth, and a fundamental error in the policy of the English government, then and at all times, to adopt practically the false principle, that it is the part of human policy to overlook altogether the spiritual interests of the country. When we admit the nice limits and exceeding difficulties attendant on the due consideration of those interests, under many combinations of circumstances, it is not with the least admission of any qualification of this important truth. The policy of governments, when not (as in modern times) viewed as a shallow game, within the comprehension of any order of ignorance, is, of all branches of human knowledge, the most abounding with difficulties and complications, which task to the utmost, and often defy, the best qualities of the human mind, whether moral or intellectual. Had not the English government been ever more earnest to reduce the Irish people to a low state of subjection than to make them prosperous and

bring them to God, both objects had been long since attained. We must however add, what could not be as fully known to Bishop Heber, the knowledge of the English tongue is widely prevalent among the Irish peasantry. We may even add, that under the influence of later events, and the strenuous efforts which have been long making by religious societies and individuals for their instruction, the real mind and spirit of the Irish people has within recent years undergone a vast, but silent, and, therefore, yet unknown change—a change, indeed, not yet apprehended by themselves. Of this we shall take occasion to speak more fully and explicitly hereafter. But, reverting here to Taylor and his time, he justly remarks on the same topic—"The Roman religion is here among us a faction, and a state party, and design to recover their old laws and barbarous manner of living—a device to enable them to dwell alone, and to be *populus unius labii*—a people of one language, and unmingled with others," &c.

After a life signalized by valuable labours, by christian talents, and graces of the highest order, shown as remarkably in sufferings, privations, and sad bereavements, as in prosperity; and after a career no less exemplary by the humbler, but not less acceptable, lessons of humility, patience, and charity, than by the faithful discharge of the duties of a high and important station,—Bishop Taylor died on the 13th August, 1667, in the 55th year of his age, and the seventh of his episcopacy.

His remains were interred under the communion table in the cathedral church of Dromore. It is mentioned by Heber, that they were afterwards disturbed, to make room for those of other bishops; but Bishop Mant, on satisfactory grounds, clearly shows the statement to be quite erroneous.* More founded was the complaint that there existed no monument to mark the last abode of so much worth and genius, in a church on which Taylor himself had expended large sums for its repair and improvement. Bishop Percy had designed to repair this disgraceful want, but was prevented by the rapid increase of bodily infirmity and decay. We are however enabled to add, on the authority of Bishop Mant, a successor in the same diocese, that this reproach "has been removed by the clergy of the united diocese of Down and Connor, who, in the year 1727, placed in the cathedral church of Lisburn, a white marble tablet commemorative of the most renowned bishop of the see, appropriately decorated on each side by a crosier, and above by a sarcophagus, on which is laid the Holy Bible, surmounted by a mitre—indicating his principle and rule of action by the Latin motto, applied to that purpose by himself in his lifetime," &c. This motto is as follows:—

Non magna loquimur sed vivimus;
Nihil opinionis gratia, omnia conscientia faciam.

After which there follows a longer English inscription, expressive of the sense entertained by the inscribers of Taylor's character. This inscription is worthy of extraction here, both for its discriminate truth and the eloquence of its composition, which will lose nothing by our economy of space, in omitting the customary arrangement of such in-

* History of the Irish Church, p. 673, vol. I.

scriptions. There is a good engraving of the monument itself in Bishop Mant's work, from which we transcribe these lines:—

“Not to perpetuate the memory of one whose works will be his most enduring memorial, but that there may not be wanting a public testimony to his memory in the diocese which derives honour from his superintendence, this tablet is inscribed with the name of JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D., who, on the restoration in MDCLX of the British church and monarchy, in the fall of which he had partaken, having been promoted to the bishopric of Down and Connor, and having presided for seven years in that see, as also over the adjoining diocese of Dromore, which was soon after intrusted to his care, on account of his virtue, wisdom, and industry, died at Lisburn, August 13, MDCLXVII, in the 55th year of his age; leaving behind him a renown second to that of none of the illustrious sons whom the Anglican church, rich in worthies, has brought forth. As a bishop, distinguished for munificence and vigilance truly episcopal; as a theologian, for piety the most ardent, learning the most extensive, and eloquence inimitable; in his writings, a persuasive guide to earnestness of devotion, uprightness of practice, and christian forbearance and toleration; a powerful assertor of episcopal government and liturgical worship, and an able exposèr of the errors of the Romish church; in his manners, a pattern of his own rules of Holy Living and Holy Dying; and a follower of the great Exemplar of Sanctity, as portrayed by him in the person of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

“Reader, though it fall not to thy lot to attain the intellectual excellence of this master in Israel, thou mayest rival him in that which was the highest scope even of his ambition, an honest conscience and a christian life.

“This tablet was inscribed by the bishop and clergy of Down and Connor, in the year of our Lord 1727.”

A funeral sermon preached by his chaplain and successor, Rust, affords a just and clear view of the life, character, and genius of this extraordinary man. It is difficult, if not impossible, for human praise to afford any just reflection of that piety and those exalted christian graces, which can only be truly estimated in the balance of eternal wisdom. Goodness, the fruit of divine grace, demands no profound intellectual powers to ripen or sustain it, nor is it adequately to be described in those gaudy tints which decorate the painted show of earthly vanities; but Taylor's genius was itself cast in a spiritual mould, and all his splendid and varied gifts were harmonized together, and exalted, by the one pervading and characteristic spirit. The angel temper seemed, for once at least, infused into a frame endowed with angelic capacities—such as not often are found separately, far more rarely together, in the composition of human character. A deep and spacious intellect, rapid, apprehensive, and vigorous—a fancy, alert, profuse, and ready—an imagination which seemed to wield and bring together at will, the world of life, form, and circumstance: with

these, the exhaustless command of all the resources and sympathies of taste, passion, and sentiment, and the copious and well-tuned elocution which is but a result of such endowments. In some, a combination of such powers might have its sphere in some immortal epic or dramatic work; in others, as circumstances led, they might be lost in the fruitless mazes of metaphysical speculation; but in him, they were aptly framed together by the one ever-presiding control of a pure and holy spirit. It would be difficult to find a succession of literary productions indicating throughout so much vivacity of impulse, and exuberance of fancy, with so uniform a sobriety of reason and steadiness of purpose. Something of all this seems to have been equally manifested in the entire of his conduct, manner, and deportment. It might indeed be anticipated, but the sermon of Rust contains many expressions of it. The following seems to be the language of lively rhetorical exaggeration, but is, doubtless, merely descriptive:—"To sum up all, this great prelate had the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a schoolman, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a counsellor, the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety of a saint; he had devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough for a university, and wit enough for a college of virtuosi; and had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his clergy whom he left behind him, it would perhaps have made one of the best dioceses in the world. But alas! our Father! our Father! the horses of Israel and the chariots thereof! he is gone, and has carried his mantle and his spirit along with him up to heaven," &c. By the way—from this specimen of a discourse, which offers no bad imitation of Taylor's own style, some small fragment of the orator's mantle must have fallen to his successor. We select some further passages, which may serve to give more precise ideas of this illustrious christian scholar than the above strain, which, though far from being inappropriate, yet carries the form of rhetorical enumeration into some strangely assorted combinations. "Nature," says Bishop Rust, "had befriended him much in his constitution; for he was a person of a most sweet and obliging humour, of great candour and ingenuousness; and there was so much soul and fineness in his wit, and prettiness of address in his familiar discourses, as made his conversation have all the pleasantness of a comedy, and all the usefulness of a sermon. His soul was made up of harmony, and he never spake but he charmed his hearer, not only with the clearness of his reason, but all his words; and his very tone and cadences were unusually musical." After some further commemoration of these and other striking and great endowments, the bishop proceeds: "To these advantages of nature, and excellence of his spirit, he added an indefatigable industry, and God gave a plentiful benediction; for there were few kinds of learning but he was a *mystes* and a great master in them. He was an excellent humanist, and highly versed in all the polite parts of learning; and had thoroughly digested all the ancient moralists, Greek and Roman, poets and orators; and was not unacquainted with the refined wits of the later ages, whether French or Italian."

Among other accomplishments of learning, Rust mentions his

thorough acquaintance with "the fathers and ecclesiastical writers, and the doctors of the first and purest ages both of the Greek and Latin church." After dwelling on the eminence of his Christian attainments, and that exemplary devotion which rendered all other distinctions comparatively nothing in his own estimation, the orator proceeds: "He was a person of great humility; and notwithstanding his stupendous parts, learning, and eminence of place, he had nothing in him of pride and honour, but was courteous, affable, and of easy access, and would lend a ready ear to the complaints, even to the impertinences of the meanest people. His humility was coupled with extraordinary piety; and I believe he spent the greatest part of his time in heaven; his solemn hours of prayer took up a considerable portion of his life."* His charity is inferred from the largeness of his income, compared with the little left to his family. On this it is mentioned by Ware, that having saved moderate portions for his daughters, he distributed all the rest to the poor.

Of the writings of Taylor we have made as much mention as our space admits. The subjects of many of the controversies in which he took an active part are such, in some cases, as to prescribe silence in a work designed for many classes, while in others we have briefly recorded our opinion. On the general character of his eloquence there is not much to be added: it was such as might be inferred as the result of such a combination of moral and intellectual characters as we have described: it is, indeed, chiefly from his writings that we have been enabled to reason out the features of his mind; and the peculiarities of his style must nearly suggest the repetition of the same language which we have used or extracted. The copious and somewhat exuberant play of allusion which appears to seize on every incident, or element of theory, or fancy, or recorded fact, or saying, which comes even remotely within reach of his line of march, is such as to display a boundless expansion of mind, and a spacious grasp of knowledge, as well as to indicate the warmth and intensity of spirit, which could excite so much activity of the whole mind. He seems to be involved in the peculiar atmosphere of his subject, and to write with a wholeness and sincerity of heart, not often attained by the orator or author. In most compositions, it is not easy for the experienced and critical reader to avoid the impression constantly produced by the perception of the artifices of style, and the too obvious exposure of the resources of art. There is nothing of this unpleasant qualification in the eloquence of Taylor: for, although he seems to disport with facility in the most striking and splendid, harmonious and most dexterous dispositions of language, yet these appear to be but the dictate of instinctive taste, and a portion of the rolling torrent of allusions, comparisons, and arguments, which seem unselected and unsought, and rather the result of impulse than volition. Such a character of style, so curiously adapted to the form of the intellect in which it had its origin, was, it should here be recollected, in a great degree favoured by the taste of Taylor's age,—a consideration necessary to redeem it from the charge of defects and excesses which are not tolerated in our more precise and succinct method of composi-

* Rust's Discourse, quoted here from Mr Bonney.

tion. To this point we shall have an opportunity of reverting, with the fulness which it demands: the precise trim of modern composition which rejects superfluity, and requires the utmost nicety of distinction, the greatest exactness of application, and the most orderly array in the succession of thoughts, was then unconceived. The characteristic effort, by which the modern is compelled to govern and restrain the first cloud of conception which rushes upon the intellect, to weigh in a scrupulous balance, and to reject with rigid control all that too remotely, too slightly, or superfluously supports his main design, had then no existence in the rhetoric of the English tongue. There seemed no reason why the whole torrent of suggestion should not be admitted in those elastic sentences, and immeasurable periods, in which it was the pride and delight of eloquent speakers and writers, to sport freely, and tumble like leviathan in the vasty deep. To scatter free and liberal flowers, and pour forth the fulness of extensive reading, was in some degree also the criterion of genius: and though now rejected for finer tests, it then produced a vast and powerful effect not now to be measured without much reflection. Though a false analogy, or a grotesque allusion, may now excite a smile, it was then received without question; in part because it appealed to less disciplined imaginations, and partly because it displayed power, and partly because it gratified the taste. If it contained no argument, it was at least a striking manner of expressing what the argument was: and was not, as would be likely to happen now, a mere substitution. We have the more dwelt on this consideration as Taylor's writings are recently published in forms which give them a chance of again attracting the public. Many may be offended prematurely by peculiarities which are become faults, and conclude wrongfully, to the discredit of one of the most just and acute writers of our language: while still more may fall into an error, far more to be lamented, and mistake those faults for excellencies; an error the more likely, because it is among those readers who are most likely to be attracted by the spirit of Taylor, that many corruptions of language are yearly springing up, to the great diminution of their influence on society.

We mentioned the death of one of Taylor's sons to have occurred a little before his own: another, the last who remained, died soon after in England. His widow survived many years. He left three daughters: of whom the second, Mary, was married to Dr Francis Marsh, afterwards archbishop of Dublin. The third, Joanna, married a Mr Harrison, of Maraleve, &c. Heber gives some interesting accounts of their descendants.

So far as any judgment can be formed from his numerous portraits, Taylor appears to have been "above the middle size, strongly and handsomely proportioned, with his hair long and gracefully curling on his cheeks, large dark eyes full of sweetness, an aquiline nose, and an open and intelligent countenance."* There is yet an original portrait of him in All Souls' College, presented by Mrs Wray, of Ann's Vale, near Rosstrevor.

* Heber.

Francis Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin.

BORN A. D. 1627.—DIED A. D. 1693.

FRANCIS MARSH, the subject of the present memoir, was a native of Gloucestershire, and was early distinguished for his classical attainments. He was elected a fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he remained during the protectorate, seeking neither for employment or promotion from a government to whose views he was politically and conscientiously opposed. Among the loyalists, however, his talents, virtues, and learning, were duly appreciated; and, on the restoration, he had the distinguished honour of being selected and sought for by Jeremy Taylor, on his promotion to the see of Down and Connor, who, after admitting him successively into deacon's and priest's orders, presented him to the deanery of that diocese. In the following year, through the instrumentality of the lord Chancellor Hyde, he was advanced to the deanery of Armagh, with which was combined the archdeaconry of Dromore. These offices he held until 1667, when he was promoted to the sees of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe. In about five years from this period, he was translated to those of Kilmore and Ardagh, and in 1681, he was advanced to the dignity of archbishop of Dublin. These high and rapidly succeeding promotions were alluded to by the bishop of Meath, when preaching his funeral sermon, as tests of his merit, for he says, "this archbishop has been rather courted by preferments, than a solicitor of them, which ought therefore to give a due value and esteem to his memory and reputation." It is, however, fair to state, that he brings forward less questionable grounds for praise, as he not only speaks of his great learning, but adds, that he was "affable, mild, grave, and of an unblamable life." Having been appointed treasurer to St Patrick's, he took the oath of canonical obedience to the dean, but he subsequently resigned this office in favour of his son. After the accession of James, and the unfortunate substitution of Tyrconnel for Clarendon, in the government of Ireland, the latter resigned the sword of state to the new viceroy, in the archbishop's palace, where the council were assembled, and where he delivered an impressive and affecting speech, exhorting him to adopt the same course of impartial justice towards protestants, that he had himself practised towards the opposite party: this, his previous conduct, while lieutenant-general, made more than unlikely, and "never was a sword washed with so many tears as this," which Clarendon laid down. The worst fears of the protestants were quickly realized, and the reign of terror, of injustice, and of blood, which followed, obliged all of any eminence or virtue, to fly a country where these very qualities and attainments made them only the more prominently obnoxious, to oppression or to death. The archbishop accordingly removed with his wife and family to England, and nominated the celebrated Dr William King to act as his commissary in his absence, and to superintend and protect the interests of that diocese, over which he was subsequently destined to rule. King, probably

fearing that his unaided efforts would be insufficient to *oppose* the innovations, and unjust interference of the popular party, declined the appointment, on the ground of its not having been legally executed. It was accordingly arranged that the chapters should elect Anthony Dopping, bishop of Meath, manager and superintendent of the diocese, in the arduous duties of which office, he was ably assisted by Dr King.

On the abdication of James, the archbishop returned to Dublin, and at his own expense repaired, enlarged, and beautified the palace of St Sepulchre's. He did not however live long to enjoy the happy period that succeeded, when each could again "sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree," but, being attacked by apoplexy, died in 1693, and was buried in Christ's church, his funeral sermon being preached, as before mentioned, by the bishop of Meath. The vacant archbishopric was offered to Dr Tenison, subsequently archbishop of Canterbury, but some obstacles arising to this appointment, it was given in the year following to Dr Narcissus Marsh, a man of great prudence and learning, and though of the same name, apparently no relative to his predecessor.

Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin.

BORN A. D. 1638.—DIED A. D. 1713.

THE family of Dr Narcissus Marsh was ancient, and of Saxon origin; and maternally he was descended from the Colburns of Dorsetshire. He was born at Hannington, near Highworth in Wiltshire, in December 1638, at which town he was educated, and removed from thence to Oxford in 1654. After taking the degrees of Master of Arts, and Bachelor of Divinity, he took that of Dr of Divinity in 1671; and seven years after took the same degree in Dublin college. He was appointed chaplain to the bishop of Exeter, and also subsequently became chaplain to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, to which appointment many of his future preferments may be traced. He was early distinguished as a person of learning and sound understanding, and was selected by the duke of Ormonde, when chancellor of Oxford, as principal of St Alban's hall; and being a very accomplished preacher, he was generally chosen on public occasions to preach anniversary sermons, especially such as in those times required tact and judgment. In 1678 he was nominated by the duke to the provostship of Dublin college, which office he held for four years, and resigned it on being promoted to the bishopric of Ferns, where he lived in undisturbed retirement; "repairing churches, planting curates where wanting, and doing what good he could," until king James ascended the throne. His own very interesting manuscript diary, which is preserved in the library which he subsequently founded in Dublin, and which will cause his name to be long honoured and remembered, gives the details of his persecutions, vicissitudes, and escapes, at this period; and is also a painful record of the pecuniary aids he gratefully enumerates as having received in his flight, difficulties, and destitution. His house was beset at midnight by a party of

soldiers, from whom he with difficulty escaped; and having reached Dublin, obtained shelter from the provost, until he in his turn was compelled to fly with his family—when not having money to procure himself the common necessities of life, and being threatened with destruction if he attempted to return to his diocese, he fled to London, where he says, “I was kindly received by the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, the bishop of London and others; but especially by the bishop of St Asaph, who bestowed on me the parish of Gretford for my support under that calamity; and by the bishop of Salisbury, Dr Burnet, who earnestly invited me several times to be at his house until I might return to Ireland. The bishop of Lincoln also presented me with five guineas. The Lord remember them all for their kindness to the distressed.” During his stay in London, notwithstanding all his own anxieties and difficulties, he exerted himself actively and successfully for his suffering brethren, who had to fly from the bloody persecution then raging in Ireland, and who were less fortunate, being unknown and unprotected. After spending some months in London, he received an invitation from his old friend, Dr Bury, rector of Exeter college, of which he had been himself a probationer fellow. He remained with him for nine months, during which time he says he was “furnished with all necessities both by the Doctor and his wife, and by Mrs Guise, their daughter;” and when he was at length leaving these faithful friends, Mrs Bury offered him twenty guineas, which he says he refused, as “having no present occasion,” the bishop of London having just sent him the same sum.

Upon the happy event of the abdication of king James, the bishop returned to Ireland, and was shortly afterwards promoted to the archbishopric of Cashel. In his new character of metropolitan, he consecrated Dr Nathaniel Foy, bishop of Waterford,—he being one of those dignitaries who had incurred both risk, contumely, and imprisonment, for his firm and uncompromising adherence to the protestant faith; and in the archbishop’s diary, he expresses his “great hopes,” which were ultimately realized, that this newly consecrated prelate might be “made an instrument of God’s great glory.” In his first visitation sermon, this truly christian archbishop pressed upon his clergy their plain and practical duties, charging them in those dark and unawakened times, not to wait until they were formally summoned by the sick and dying, but to seek for and anticipate such calls: for he adds, “besides the necessity of doing so in that extreme exigence for the direction of a parting soul in the right way to heaven, how incongruous is it that the sick persons should put you in mind of your duty; whereas you ought to put them in mind of theirs.” He further says, “I shall only add hereto, that you should be very cautious how you behave yourselves towards men on their death-beds; that you neither run them into despair, that you do not send some to hell with false hopes, and let others go to heaven without any.”

In 1694, he was advanced to the see of Dublin, and in his diary he thus notices this event.

“April 20. The news came to Cork, while I was there (on his triennial visitation), that their majesties were pleased to declare I should be translated to the see of Dublin; and accordingly the king’s

letter was sent over for that purpose. and all this without my knowledge, or any means used by me for obtaining it. O Lord, thy ways are wonderful: and as this is thy sole doing, so I beseech thee to grant me sufficient assistance of thy Holy Spirit, to enable me to perform the work which thou hast assigned me. Amen."

He was accordingly enthroned in St Patrick's cathedral the following month, and applied himself, with conscientious earnestness, to the performance of the more extended duties and responsibilities which then devolved upon him. He directed his clergy scrupulously to attend to the instruction of the young, and enlarged upon and enforced their various practical duties, with the same zeal and primitive simplicity he had done at Cashel. His own efforts were laboriously and judiciously directed to the correction of abuses on a large scale; and the extreme age of the primate, incapacitating him from giving any assistance in the affairs of the church made the labour more oppressive. This is alluded to in a letter quoted by Bishop Mant, from a correspondence between him and Dr J. Smith, preserved in the Bodleian library, of which the following are extracts:—

"We having parliaments but seldom in Ireland, it might be supposed that here is occasion for many acts to be passed when we do meet; all which are prepared in this council, and sent to that in England before they can be brought into our parliament to be passed into laws; and my lord primate being above eighty-seven years old, and almost deprived of his sight and hearing, you cannot imagine but the weight of business to prepare bills to be passed into acts of parliament; for the church which nobody but churchmen will mind, hath lain and still doth lie heavy upon me; insomuch that for some months past I have not been able to command almost a minute's time from many bills prepared for the good of our church; whereof some are already passed, and the others I hope will suddenly be passed into laws, for the better establishment of this poor distressed church." In another letter, he states that he is occupied from ten to eleven hours every day, preparing in conjunction with some other bishops and privy councillors, those bills for parliament; and in a third, dated May 4th, 1700, about a year after holding the office of lord justice, he says, "it must be a great goodness in you to pardon my neglects, which I do still confess, promise amendment, and then do worse. But all arises from an unhappy circumstance that I do usually labour under. Worldly business is that which above all things I do hate; and that the more, because the affairs of the church, as things now stand, and during my lord primate's inability to act in his station, create me as much business as I can conveniently turn under. When I was dismissed last summer from the charge of the government, I hoped to be ever hereafter free from things of that nature. But Providence disposed of me out of one trouble into another; for our lord chancellor was no sooner summoned by the parliament in England, but I was appointed first commissioner for keeping the broad seal, which hath found me employment; that I hope will be over in a few weeks, that so I may be at some liberty to write to my friends."

Among his numerous efforts for the benefit of this country, there is one which must claim precedence of all the rest, not only from its last-

ing utility, but from the personal sacrifices that it involved. This was the building, endowing, and furnishing, a noble library for the express benefit of the public, in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace. The account of the origin, progress, and completion of this great design, along with the unexpected obstacles encountered and combated by the archbishop, are given with such interest and simplicity by his own pen, in the correspondence above alluded to, that we shall extract it as it stands, from Bishop Mant's work. Having applied to his friend Dr Thomas Smith, the great Oriental scholar and author of the Latin life of primate Usher, to recommend him some "choice books," he says, "and now, Sir, that you may know the better what sort of books will best fit me, I must declare to you a secret, which is this; that by the blessing of God I do design to leave all my Oriental manuscripts to the Bodleian library when I die; and for the rest of my books, I hope to dispose them thus:—

"The archbishop of Dublin's house, in Dublin, called St Sepulchre's, though it may well be called a palace for the stateliness of all the publicke rooms of reception, yet hath it no chapel nor library belonging to it, nor indeed any convenient room to hold an ordinary study of books, so that mine lay dispersed in three distant rooms. This consideration hath made me resolve to build both a chapel and library; which had been done by this time, if the title to the ground on which I am to build could have been cleared, which I hope will soon be done. The chapel is designed for the use of the archbishop's family; but the library for public use which will be of great use here, where there is no public library (that of the college being open only to the provost and fellows), and where the booksellers' shops are furnished with nothing but new trifles; so that neither the divines of the city, nor those that come to it about business, do know whither to go to spend an hour or two upon any occasion at study.

"In this library (if God shall enable me to go through with the work, in order to the building whereof I have laid by eight hundred pounds, which is the money that became due to me from the king whilst I was concerned in the government last summer), in this library, I say, my intentions are to lodge all my printed books when I die, having no relation to whom to leave them, that I think deserves such a favour.

"Sir, the design reacheth yet a little farther. I have now £600 worth of books lying ready in Dublin to be put into the library, as soon as it shall be built, which is the study of a learned gentleman that will give them freely, provided the king will settle upon him £200 per annum, out of the first-fruits of this kingdom, as a salary for being library-keeper (which he will attend), until I or my successor can bestow upon him the chancellorship or treasurership of St Patrick's in Dublin, on which are no cares, to be appropriated to that use for ever. The gentleman is Mr Bonhereau, who published *Origenes contra Celsum* in French, with learned notes, in Holland. He is a man as well qualified to be a library-keeper as any one I do know, being well skilled in critical learning, and one of great correspondence. The matter hath lain before the king for some time, and now that the parliaments are over, I hope we shall have a gracious

answer speedily,—my lord Galway being deeply concerned in it, because Mr Bonhereau is his secretary, and hath been so for many years.

“I have near £200 worth of books by me, that I would put into the library presently, were it built; and the rest when I die. And I hope if my lord Galway might continue in the government a little longer, to find a way by a removal, to get one of the fore-mentioned dignities for a library-keeper, without being chargeable to his majesty for anything but the first-fruits.”

About three years after, he writes thus to Dr Smith. “I have no news from this kingdom to requite you with, only that the library I have been for some time erecting for public use will, I hope, be finished by midsummer; which had been by Michaelmas, if Sir William Robinson, who is my architect, had not stayed so long in London the last year. The whole pile of building is ninety feet long, and will contain a greater quantity of books than I shall live to see put into it: and when the upper part, that is contrived like the cross part of the Bodleian library, shall be filled with books, then the lower part under it that is made like the upper, and is now made lodgings for a library-keeper, may be converted into a library also. The whole building will cost me about £2000 by the time it is finished, which I pray God enable me to do: for which also I desire your prayers.”

The next letter on the subject was written in the following year; and after his translation to Armagh; he says, “The structure being nearly finished, my next care must be to get it well furnished with such books as may render it useful to all sorts of persons; I am indeed earnestly pressed to purchase Dr Stillingfleet’s library, but it will cost £3000 before it can be brought over hither; and I fear that if it should come, it would not fully answer my design; because there must of necessity be many insignificant books in it. Wherefore, it being my design to furnish the small library that I have erected, which I conceive may be capable of receiving about 10,000 books of all sorts, with none but the most useful books in each faculty and science; my request to you is, that as opportunity will serve, you will yourself think and advise with your friends, what books in each faculty and science may be most proper to be put into a library, designed as mine is—as to divinity, civil and common law, medicine and anatomy, history, geography, mathematics, &c., and that you would draw up a catalogue of the authors, and their best editions. Classical authors are also not to be neglected.”

In a letter written two months after, he says, “I am very much solicited to purchase Dr Stillingfleet’s (late bishop of Worcester) books; for which purpose the catalogue is sent me. The collection is great; but, as far as I can yet discern, is on some subjects superfluous and redundant; on others, too deficient to form such a complete library. I desire your opinion of this collection if you have seen it, whose price I fear will exceed the strength of my purse at present, and that it might be better for me to purchase none but those books, and those by degrees, as I can best spare money.”

The archbishop, having notwithstanding at length purchased the library, writes thus to his friend:—

“I did not answer your last sooner, because I had then a prospect

of getting Dr Stillingfleet's library of books over hitherto very soon, of which I had a mind to give an account; which now, by God's blessing, are safely arrived; and I with some friends are very busy in looking them over and examining them. I am very well pleased with the purchase, there being very many excellent books amongst them, and most very well bound, and of the best editions; and I am the more so, because by this means I may ease you of a great part of the trouble I was putting upon you, of giving me an account of what books and editions of books you think proper for a library. But though the greatest part of my care is now over, yet the whole is not: for a library must be still increasing, as new books, or new and better editions of old ones, do come out. Besides, that many good books in some faculties and sciences are wanting. I therefore do still desire the continuance of your favour, in setting down such good books as you think fit for a library, as they occur to your mind."

To secure the perpetuity of this institution, the primate determined to have some bills prepared and passed through parliament for the purpose, but in doing so, met most unexpected and vexatious opposition from some of the members of his own profession;* notwithstanding this, he says, in a letter to Dr Smith, "It passed the House of Lords, and was sent down to the House of Commons, where it was very kindly and favourably received. Amongst other clauses, this statute declares the premises for ever discharged of and free from all manner of taxes already imposed, or thereafter to be imposed, by act of parliament, unless the same shall thereon be charged expressly and by name. In the mean time, the dissenting lords entered their protestation against it, with such reasons as the House of Lords thought to be very reflective on them, and therefore, at the next session immediately voted those dissenting lords should be sent prisoners to the castle, unless they would withdraw their reasons, which accordingly they did, and all was quiet.

"In the mean time, the House of Commons passed my bill, without any man's opposing it, or, as they say, *nemine contradicente*, and presently voted that a committee of eight of their members should be appointed, to give me the thanks of the house for my benefactions, which was accordingly done out of hand. The lords, knowing this, presently voted the same, and pitched upon the dissenting lords to do it, for their mortification. But only one of them being at the time in the house, a temporal lord was joined with him. * * *

"By this you will perceive how difficult a matter it is for a man to do any kindness to the people of this country. If he will be a publick benefactor, he must resolve to fight his way through all opposition of it; it being a new and unheard-of thing here, that certainly hath some secret design in it to subvert the church, though they cannot tell what; and the reason of it is, "*Quia omnes, quæ sua sunt, quærunt.*"

"This library, with the books, hath cost me near five thousand pounds Irish money; and I designed to expend so much more about it, as soon as God should enable me. But I confess this opposition has struck a

* Bishops of Killala, Ossory, Killaloe, and Raphoe, especially the two last.

great damp upon my spirits. I beg your prayers, that God would please to strengthen and encourage me in my former resolutions, without whose assistance, yea, and enlivening grace, I can do nothing more. Rev. Sir,—Thus far I had written near a month ago, and have laid by my letter to cool upon it thus long, and finding no exaggeration of the truth in what is before said, I now proceed to tell you, that since that time I have placed all bishop Stillingfleet's books in the said library, which I retained in my own house before the library was by act of parliament appropriate to publick use, and I do find that they do very near fill up all the space that is yet prepared in it for the reception of the books."

In the ensuing year, he again writes upon the same subject as follows:—

"Until this matter be settled, and an additional building be raised, or the present be carried on, as is designed, I fear that I shall not find room in it to place in it any more books, which does no more discourage me from prosecuting my design of rendering the library as beneficial to this kingdom as may be, than the opposition made to the bill hath done; which hath only made me more zealous in the business, since it hath received the general approbation. But I must beg your pardon, if I cannot consent to leaving any marks behind me of the opposition made to the passing of that bill, more than what of necessity must be entered on the journals of the House of Lords here. The opponents, some of them are worthy men:

* * * * * sed
Nescio quo fate, nec qua vertigine rapti, &c.

"I forgive them, and I pray God every man else may; at least nothing under my hand shall ever rise up against them." Amongst his many difficulties and discouragements, he had the gratification of receiving testimonies and congratulations upon the completion of his noble undertaking, from the best and highest in the land. The subjoined is from Archbishop King, and is of a previous date:—

"I understand with great satisfaction, that your Grace has concluded with Mr Stillingfleet for his father's library. 'Tis a noble gift to the church; and as it will perpetuate your Grace's memory here, so it will, I hope, be plentifully rewarded by our common Master. I could not on this occasion forbear expressing the sense I have of it, and rendering my thanks to God on behalf of your Grace, as well as acknowledgments to your Grace. I am further to assure your Grace that I am ready to join in an act of parliament to settle the library and gallery as we agreed, and I hope it will be ready to pass next session."

Both a librarian and a sub-librarian were appointed by the primate, who appropriated a charge of £250 per annum on certain lands in the county of Meath for the purpose of their endowment. He also directed, that the library, which then contained about 10,000 volumes, should remain open during the hours most suitable to the convenience of the citizens, and that all strangers should be freely admitted. About fifty years after, this library received a very important addition, by a bequest of valuable books and manuscripts from Dr Stearne, bishop of Clogher.

The primate now turned his active mind to the reform, and in many instances, remodelling of the diocese over which he was called upon to preside. At his own expense he repaired many of the deserted and dilapidated churches, and supplied them with proper ministers; and also purchased many alienated impropriations, and restored them to the church. The lamentable ignorance into which the Irish papists had at that time sunk, awakened the commiseration of many among the most zealous and conscientious of the Irish prelates, who forwarded a petition to the queen, through the duke of Ormonde, then lord-lieutenant, that active and efficient means might be resorted to for their instruction and conversion. While this petition was under consideration, the primate and his clergy joined in a subscription for the purpose of maintaining two missionaries, to preach to the Roman Catholics in their native language; and, at the same time, through the exertions of Archbishop King, Mr Richardson, and others, the Scriptures were printed in Irish and disseminated.

In 1707, the primate was seized with an alarming illness, which he describes to his friend Dr Smith in the following manner:—"As to the present, a lazy indisposition seized me that day at dinner whereon my lord-lieutenant landed, which was June 24th, which rendered me unable to walk or stand without help. 'Twas a benumbness in my limbs, that is not yet quite worn off, nor can it be until I have liberty to ride and walk and stir about, which the business of parliament, convocation, and council, hath hitherto denied me, especially the council, which, since the recess of parliament, which is to meet again, September 20th, hath seldom sate, either itself or in a committee, less than eight or ten hours every day to prepare, adjust, and dispatch bills to the council in England for their approbation, that they may be returned hither in time enough to be passed in our parliament when it shall meet. This is our method. So that when I returned home at night, I have been still more inclined *ad dormiendum quam ad scribendum*. But God be thanked, my distemper, as the doctors tell me, is only the scurvies, not a touch of the palsy, as I at first apprehended. And the fore-mentioned business being now for a few days over, I have time to think of my friends and books."

From this period the health of the primate appears to have gradually declined, though his mental energies continued sound; and he continued to transact business almost to the close of his life, which did not terminate until 1713. Although in 1710 the duke of Ormonde told Swift, that "he was hardly able to sign a paper," when Swift answered, "he wondered they would put him in the government, when every one knew he was a dying man this twelvemonths past."

On the 2d of November he was attacked by apoplexy, and died in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was buried in the church-yard of St Patrick's, adjoining his library, where a stately white marble monument was erected, which has since been removed into the cathedral, and is placed at the south side of the west aisle: while a mural plate marks the spot in the church-yard where his mortal remains were laid. He never married, and he does not appear to have had any very near relatives. His charities were unbounded—the amount

of them being calculated at not less than £30,000. In Drogheda he built an alms-house for the reception of twelve widows of clergymen, and allowed to each of them £20 per annum. He also gave his aid and sanction to the missions in the East, and was himself a highly accomplished Oriental scholar. He excelled both in vocal and instrumental music, and understood thoroughly and scientifically the principles of harmony. He wrote an essay on sounds, with proposals for the improvement of acoustics, which was presented to the Royal Society, and printed in the Philosophical Transactions, and on which Guido Grandi, a philosopher of Cremona, has largely commented. When provost, he published "*Institutiones Logicæ*," and also edited Philip de Trieu's "*Manuductio ad Logicam*," to which he added the original Greek text, and some notes on Gassendi's tract, *De Demonstratione*, printed at Oxford, 1678.

Anthony Dopping.

BORN A. D. 1643—DIED A. D. 1697.

THIS illustrious prelate was the son of a Mr Anthony Dopping, an Englishman. He was born in Dublin, 28th March, 1643, and educated in the free school of St Patrick's. There he was early distinguished for the quickness with which he learned; and so rapid was his progress, that he was enabled to enter the university of Dublin in 1656, being then in his 13th year. In the university, his advance was no less extraordinary, and he obtained the fellowship in his 19th year. As a fellow, he is said to have won general respect and regard in the university, for the zeal and ability with which he discharged the arduous duties of that high and responsible station, as well as for the ready kindness and affability which made his conduct and demeanor attractive to the undergraduates. In 1669 he was appointed minister of St Andrew's, and on the death of Jones, bishop of Kildare, in 1678, he was with universal approbation chosen his successor in that see. From this he was, in 1681, translated to Meath. He was at the same time made a privy counsellor, and vice-chancellor of the university.

We have already stated in some detail, and cannot now repeat the disastrous efforts of king James II. and his counsellors, to effect a revolution in England in favour of the church of Rome: as was to be expected, Ireland, in which their party was already formidable, and where the intrigues and arbitrary interpositions of government were less under the control of the protestant sense of the kingdom, was selected as the stage of action. For a time every engine of arbitrary power, and a policy that went to its mark with a violence of zeal irrespective of all considerations of truth, mercy, or equity, were let loose against the protestants of Ireland. We must here add, that in our detail of this execrable conspiracy, we have guarded against the hasty imputation of these deeds to the really respectable portions of our countrymen of the papal church. In such times, there ever was and

must be a ragged regiment of the mere mob of any people, of any country, or creed, who will be at the disposal of all who are with impunity allowed to raise the popular outcry of public disorder, rapine, and murder. Such a fact, inherent in human nature, conveys no reproach when fairly understood, save that which must fall on those who avail themselves of such an instrumentality for evil ends. We are here only concerned with the fact that, when the lord-deputy, Tyrconnel, put in motion every engine of power for the subversion of the church in Ireland, Dopping, with other privy counsellors, was dismissed, for the purpose of forming a council of the Romish persuasion.

The effect of such a course was soon felt through the kingdom, but more especially in Dublin, where tyranny and violence kept their headquarters, and all opposition was suppressed by terror. There it was unsafe for protestants to be in any way noticed, and their clergy, when found in the discharge of their spiritual functions, were treated with the most harsh contumelies and interruptions by the brutal soldiery who had received their orders for such conduct. The archbishop of Dublin, having become the subject of special persecution, was compelled to fly; and still, anxious for the faithful discharge of his duties, he appointed Dr King as his commissary. But some doubt arising as to the legality of the instrument by which he was appointed, King prevailed on the chapters of Christ church and Patrick's, to elect the bishop of Meath to the administration of the spiritualities. Dopping was thus brought forward into a post of dangerous responsibility; and never was such a post more worthily filled, or in a season of more trying adversity. Aably and courageously aided by Dr King, he exerted himself openly in the assertion of the rights and interests of the church; to protect its property; to enforce and preserve its ministerial offices and duties; and fill its churches with worthy and efficient pastors. In the parliament of 1689, he distinguished himself in his place by the courage and eloquence with which he denounced the outrages of king James' government: he also made several protests and petitions in favour of the persecuted protestants, their church, and clergy. In a word, his boldness and prompt zeal were at the time only tolerated in that destructive assembly, because, standing nearly alone, he could not offer any check to their proceedings, while his freedom seemed to give an appearance of fairness and liberality to their debates.

His noble courage and ability were indeed of no avail, though they probably obtained for him the involuntary respect of his opponents, as they won the regard and veneration of all just and honourable minds of every persuasion. King James, happily ejected from the kingdom, against the liberty and religion of which he had conspired with his enemies, came to exercise his duplicity and despotic temper in Ireland; and here, in no long time, freed as he was from the constraints of the English public, exposed the secrets of his policy, by acts of the most flagrant injustice and spoliation. Into these we shall not now enter: it may be enough to mention here that the repeal of the act of settlement followed by the most flagitious act that ever left immortal dishonour on

the memory of a legislative assembly, had the effect of opening the eyes of every respectable person in the kingdom who from whatever cause had adhered to him.

An act of the same parliament transferred the incumbencies of the protestant churches, with their emoluments and sacred edifices, to the priests of the papal communion. Through the country they obtained possession by violence, in which they were aided by the soldiery of James. In Dublin the churches were seized on different pretexts; and with the aid of the French soldiery, a system of extortion exercised against the protestant inhabitants.

At length, by the blessing of that overruling providence, which pleased to reserve this country—we trust for better times—the march of outrage and sacrilege was stayed by the battle of the Boyne. On this memorable occasion, Dopping, with Digby bishop of Limerick, and the clergy then remaining in Dublin, waited on the conqueror with an address, which was composed and delivered by Dopping, who had been their advocate and champion in their recent trials and sufferings, and had never once faltered through the whole of that perilous and disastrous time. To the church history of this period we must revert in the following memoir.

Dopping, restored to his dignities, enjoyed many years of peace and prosperity, and died in the year 1697 in Dublin. He was buried in his family vault in St Andrew's church.

William King, Archbishop of Dublin.

BORN A. D. 1650.—DIED A. D. 1729.

WILLIAM KING, who, whether we regard him as a prelate, a scholar, or a man of genius, is entitled to a place in the foremost rank of eminent Irishmen, was born in 1650 in Antrim. His father was a Scotch settler, who came over in the time of the civil wars to avoid taking the solemn league and covenant. William was sent to school at Dungannon, and in 1666, when he had nearly completed his 17th year, he entered as a sizer in the university of Dublin. There he obtained a scholarship, and graduated in 1670, and took master's degree in 1675, when he was ordained deacon by Dr Mosson, bishop of Derry. He had, at the provost's earnest desire, offered himself candidate at the fellowship examination, but not having read with this view, he did not succeed. But the effort was creditable, as he answered on such insufficient preparation, so as to manifest the possession of great ability and knowledge. He was thus recommended to Parker, archbishop of Tuam, who ordained him priest, and took him as chaplain into his family. During his residence with the archbishop he availed himself of the advantages thus afforded for the cultivation of his understanding, and the acquisition or improvement of such attainments as might be useful to his future views of duty or advancement; and in this prudent and laudable industry he was much encouraged by his patron, who had the sagacity to perceive that he was gifted with an intellect of no inferior order. The archbishop was not neglectful of

his other interests, and in the course of a few years promoted him to several benefices; so many that indeed they might seem to amount to a most reprehensible accumulation of pluralities, if we did not refer to the then poverty of church livings, and the state of learning in Ireland, which were such, that the promotion of piety and learning were objects of the most immediate importance. At the time of which we write, and indeed long after, the church livings were for the most part wholly inadequate to their purpose: and to this rather than to any more invidious cause, is to be attributed the abuse of pluralities. The far greater abuse of impropriations, and the poverty of the country made the parishes of so small and uncertain a value, that it was necessary to add five or six together to make an income of fifty pounds a-year: While to so many, perhaps, there was seldom more than one church in effective repair.*

In 1678 Parker was translated to Dublin. He collated King to the chancellorship of Patrick's, with the parish of Werburghs. Here King had the opportunity for which he must doubtless have been desirous, of labouring in his vocation as a christian minister. His great promptness and activity in the general interest of the chapter, and still more in the defence of religion, were during the same interval signalized by different efforts, and by controversial writings, not of sufficiently permanent interest to be here distinctly noticed. In 1688 he was further promoted by the chapter of St Patrick's, who elected him to the deanery.

Those troubled times to which we have so frequently been compelled to advert now came on, and for a moment seemed to shake the church and growing fortunes of this country to the foundation. In that dreadful crisis, King was among those who stood his ground, to brave and endure the dangers and sufferings of his church and fellow-citizens. When the repeal of the act of settlement was proposed, he justly concluded that such a dissolution of the actual constitution of the country amounted to a forfeiture of allegiance, and exerted himself to the utmost to persuade his fellow-countrymen to embrace the deliverance providentially offered by the prince of Orange; and it is admitted that he was memorably successful, so that under providence, he may be said first to have given a salutary direction to the public mind, bewildered as it was in the stormy collision of interests and passions, then prevalent in this distracted country.

Of these noble exertions a new sense was shown by the hostile party and their king in the following year, when they seized many protestant clergymen, among whom was King, on some absurd pretence, and imprisoned them in the castle. King committed his authority to his subdean, Mr Henry Price, with strong injunctions to keep the church in order to the utmost of his power. While thus imprisoned, he wrote the history of the events, of which he was himself the faithful and intelligent witness, and which, if the utmost allowance be made for the errors of human observation, contains beyond any fair comparison the most authentic and trustworthy narration of those events. We have had the advantage of its guidance in the political

* See Swift's memorial to Mr Harley about the first-fruits, in his works, vol. xii.

history of this interval, and have also diligently compared it with the counter-statements which have been opposed to it. The grounds of our preference we have fully stated. It may here be enough to state, that the utmost deductions to be made from King's accounts are not such as in any way to affect the substantial accuracy of the whole, either in detail or general truth. With respect to his adversaries, it would be painful to go to the full length of exposure; but there is throughout the entire of them, that prominent vein of misrepresentation which belongs to the lowest form of tortuous advocacy—evasion, equivocation—and above all, that ever ready resource of historical falsehood, the *suppressio veri*. The large allowances to be made for that adjustment of facts to certain false assumptions in political theory, which gave such writers plausibility among the ignorant and deluded party for which they have written, would be more difficult to advert to in any summary form; but we will venture to say that we have sufficiently exposed them already in the course of this work.

King's confinement was not of long duration: he was liberated by the exertions of Herbert, who was one of the many protestants who yet lay under an erroneous sense of loyalty to James, and who, for the sake of the respectability which they attached to his cause, were enabled to exercise a considerable influence over him. It was during this interval that archbishop Marsh had been driven from the country, by a series of persecutions already related. On his release, Dean King applied himself, with all his ability and assiduous zeal, to assist the bishop of Meath in the care of the archdiocese thus deprived of its proper head. But he was too distinguished to be long endured by the despotic intolerance of James, or by the rancorous faction which directed his apprehensions and jealousies; once more he was seized and incarcerated: but the battle of the Boyne which delivered the country again set free the brave assertor of her rights, and historian of her wrongs and sufferings. In a few days after, king William entered the capital and returned thanks in Patrick's cathedral, where King, as dean, preached before him: considering the occasion of such a discourse the topics were obvious; the dean had to dwell on the dangers to which the church and the country had been exposed, and to trace their great and providential deliverance.

His merits were among the highest, if not indeed the very highest, which demanded recognition from the justice of William; and the interest of the church, then to be repaired from its ruins, still more imperatively demanded the promotion of one whose virtues and abilities so distinctly marked him for a post of dignity and public trust. The see of Derry had been designed by the king, as a reward for the services of the Rev. George Walker; but the death of this heroic man at the Boyne left the vacancy free for a far more appropriate nomination; and Dean King was chosen. By permission of the primate, whose age and infirmities rendered him incapable of the office, King was consecrated by the archbishop of Dublin. He straightway repaired to his diocese, and found its condition no less wretched than was to be anticipated from the recent disorder which so universally impaired and confused all departments of civil order. In the diocese of Derry, civil war had exhausted its whole train of calamities; waste

and ruin overspread the country, and involved villages and pastures; the churches had been the subject of especial hostility, and were almost universally laid in ruin; flight alone had saved the clergy from massacre; and the state of the country which denied them the means of subsistence held out no spiritual motive for their return. All was desertion and dilapidation, confusion and waste. This unhappy state of things, from which a feebler spirit would have recoiled in despair, called forth the active beneficence and the efficient energy of the new bishop. Contributing largely from his private means, which he always seems to have used unsparingly for public uses, and obtaining by great exertion the disposal of the large arrears then due on the see estates, he immediately exerted himself to replace or repair the church which the army of James had destroyed; and in addition, he built several new churches.* The clergy he soon collected, and compelled either to settle in their parishes, or to allot a sufficient maintenance for good and sufficient curates: not content with this, he supported many at his own cost, until their incumbencies became adequate to their maintenance. He was not less careful in looking to the competency of his clergy than to the duties of their station: this was necessarily a matter of some delay; and as in former cases which we had to notice in this series, much opposition was to be encountered; for, as we have had to explain in our memoirs of Usher and Bedell, the constitution of the clerical body had been from necessity rather irregular. In his MS. correspondence he says, "I believe no bishop was ever more railed at for the first two years, than I was at Londonderry, by both clergy and laity; but by good offices, steadiness in my duty, and just management, I got the better of them, and they joined with me heartily in promoting these very things for which they opposed and condemned me at first."†

A large infusion of dissenting protestants, from Scotland, poured in at this time, and greatly increased the difficulties we have mentioned. To these, he opposed only kindness, the example of a christian spirit, and the superior gifts of reason, with which he was so highly endowed. From Harris we learn that his success was considerable. To promote the end for which he thus laboured, he composed a treatise, of which we extract the following description:—"A treatise, in which the argument in vindication of the church's forms of divine worship are exemplified from holy scripture, set forth in a perspicuous method, and enforced by conclusive reasoning, which is calm and affectionate in manner, free from all bitterness of spirit, and all harshness of language; and of which, while some opponents have commended the air of seriousness and gravity, becoming the weight of the subject, as well as the dignity of the writer's character, no one has been found to confute its positions, or to invalidate its truth."‡

A reply to this essay drew from the bishop an answer which is valuable for the precise statistic account which it gives of the several states of the church of Ireland, and dissenting congregations at that time. It was entitled "An admonition to the dissenting inhabitants

* Mant's Hist. of the Irish Church, ii.

† From the MS. letters of King; Mant.

‡ Mant,

of the diocese of Derry, concerning a book lately published by Mr J. Boyce."

Among other acts equally creditable to his activity and judgment, there is one which should not be omitted. Numerous families having deserted the barony of Inishowen and followed the army of king James into the south, a colony of Scottish Highlanders came over and occupied their room. These new settlers, not understanding the English language, petitioned the bishop for a minister to officiate for them in their own tongue; the bishop immediately provided two qualified clergymen, and authorized them to perform divine service in Irish, which was fully intelligible to the petitioners. One of these was a curate, paid by the bishop himself. They had at once a congregation of five hundred persons: the example spread, and it having been ascertained that numerous Highlanders had at different times gone over to the church of Rome, averring in answer to those who inquired their reasons, that, not understanding the English tongue, they considered it better to take such a step than to have no religion; means were adopted in the county of Antrim to remedy such a disadvantage, by the appointment of ministers fitly qualified. As authority for the particulars here but adverted to loosely, there may be cited a "History of the attempts to convert the popish natives of Ireland to the established religion," by the Rev. John Richardson, in 1712: the author says, "by these means many Highlanders and popish natives are added to our church: whereas, in other places, where such care is not taken of them, the natives do not only continue in popery, but many of the Highlanders are drawn off to separate meetings, or to the Romish superstition and idolatry."

The remaining particulars of any prominence in this interval of King's life demand, and mostly indeed admit, no lengthened detail. He was active in promoting the success of a contribution raised by queen Anne's permission, for the relief of the Scottish Episcopal clergy. He was one of the six bishops commissioned to determine upon the fitness of Dr Sheridan to be appointed to a vacant bishopric—an appointment, which, having been influenced by private favour, without adequate consideration, was opposed by an accusation at the bar of the House of Lords, and finally rejected by the decision of the bishops.

While bishop of Derry, King was also appointed in a commission of three bishops, to judge on the case of the bishop of Down and Connor. This prelate passed his entire time in England, and manifestly looked no further to the see than his own income demanded. One of these bishops, Wiseman of Dromore, fell sick, and the decision lay with Dopping and King, who, on the 13th of March, 1691, suspended him, and on the 21st, deprived him "for simony, in conferring ecclesiastical benefices, and for other grievous enormities committed in the exercise of his jurisdiction." The same commission, according to their authority, proceeded to inquire into the disorders in the same diocese, which must have been the necessary consequence of so grievous a want of episcopal superintendence; and after much and vigilant inspection, they deprived the archdeacon of five out of nine parishes, and suspended him from his functions and benefices, during the king's pleasure. They in like manner deprived or suspended several others,

on different grounds. These proceedings were acquiesced in by the accused parties, with the exception of the archdeacon, who appealed, petitioned, and published his case in a pamphlet of much talent and legal research; but all to no effect, as he was repeatedly condemned after fourteen different hearings in different courts.*

Among the several important bills and motions in the Irish parliament, affecting in different ways the constitution of the Irish church, at the close of this century, King exerted all the zeal and ability for which he remains distinguished. On these topics, we cannot enter here into the same detail that we have occasionally thought expedient in the merely political division of these memoirs. Fortunately the history of the Irish church is not, like our political history, yet to be written: Dr Mant's history, to the highly authentic character of which we are indebted for much comparative facility in the selection of our present materials, we feel, at the same time, to absolve us from the notice of much which would materially add to our very considerable difficulties, in endeavouring to produce a popular work on subjects so full of inflammatory material. It is indeed easy to state a fact, merely as such: but we have felt and feel such statements to be so often encumbered with fallacy and false impressions, that it is hard at times to make the simplest statement without a comment at far more length than its importance would otherwise merit. The change of times has, by a slow and long revolution, effected many great changes in those principles of expediency which are the essential elements of our social constitution; and consequently, in our notices of the past we have been compelled to guard against the comprehensive errors and prejudices arising from the misapplication of the elements of the present; and the difficulty has been increased by the partisan character of the numerous historians, and historical commentators, who have actually availed themselves (oftenest ignorantly we grant,) of this ambiguity of social events, to produce popular impressions.

For these reasons we shall avoid twenty pages of mere discussion, by not entering here upon the strife of parties respecting toleration, the general principle of which is plain enough: but which may, and mostly has been, so interwoven with other objects and principles, as to demand much and nice consideration from any writer who pretends to form comprehensive judgments. At a further stage we shall have occasion to view these matters with that fulness which accurate discrimination requires.

Among other bills brought into the Irish parliament in 1695, one was for the union and division of parishes: it was rejected, for reasons probably of a nature discreditable to the parliament, as such a measure must have found considerable impediments in the vast preponderance of lay patronage and impropriations. Such objections were likely to have been noticed by King; and it is mentioned by Dr Mant, from archbishop Marsh's Diary, "the bishops of Derry, [King] and Waterford, protested against throwing out of the house a bill for union and division of parishes; and in their protestations, having reflected something on the house, (as was apprehended,) they were both ordered to withdraw;

* Mant's Hist.

and after some time, the bishop of Derry was brought in, and asked pardon of the house, and was ordered to take his place." King showed his good sense by declining a contest on a mere punctilio: as he was ready to brave and provoke the house, so far as his duty demanded, he was as ready to give way to wrath, when that duty ceased, and resistance would be but an ineffectual pertinacity. The bishop of Waterford, with a zeal not less praiseworthy, yet less governed, held out, and was sent prisoner to the castle, until he should beg pardon, and desire his enlargement by petition, which he did after an interval of three days' confinement.

A series of letters commencing at this period of his life, and throwing much valuable light upon church history, has been recently acquired by the university of Dublin: the learning and characteristic liberality of this eminent institution may ultimately lead to the publication of such interesting materials for history. Dr Mant, who has largely availed himself of them, mentions them as containing "transcripts of almost all his letters of that period, [from 1696, to 1729,] made in a contemporaneous handwriting for his own use," &c. Much of his correspondence is indeed scattered among the memoirs and letters of other eminent persons of the same period. Many very important letters on church affairs in the reign of queen Anne, have been published in Swift's correspondence. Among those at this earlier period, there are many which offer the clearest views of passing events, and of the condition of ecclesiastical affairs. One of September, 1696, strongly marks the neglect of the Irish church, which was so disgraceful to the government. "There is one thing I am much concerned at, because I have heard many take notice of it since I came to town, and it is the little care that is taken of the church in this kingdom at court, which between you and me, in policy ought not to be neglected, since it is surely and apparently the strongest interest in Ireland. We have several times petitioned for the forfeited impropriations, which are really worth little; and yet can by no means procure a letter for them, though such was never demurred on by any king before, and 'tis not one single farthing out of the king's pocket: and therefore very ill reflections are made on his majesty by some that wish him not well. I wish I could manage this matter, that I might stop their mouths."

The following letter, written the next month, to bishop Burnet, is upon the same subject:—

"MY LORD

"Having the opportunity of this bearer, Judge Coot, who is a very hearty friend to the church, I give your lordship the trouble of an affair that is of some concern to us, and in which we need your lordship's assistance and advice. Amongst many forfeited estates in the late rebellion, several impropriate tithes came under that qualification; and we, immediately after the victory of the Boyne, applied to his majesty for them that he would be pleased to restore them to the church, for the maintenance of a protestant clergy, which is very much wanting where those impropriations are. We have been promised fair all along; but instead of giving them to the church, there are several parcels already granted to laymen, and we do apprehend the rest will

be disposed of in the same way. We have made several attempts to prevent this, and the late lord Capel undertook our petition, but his death prevented our knowing the success. It appeared that all that was left of those forfeited impropriations were not worth £200 per annum; that many private persons had gotten grants to many times their value; that all the former kings, his majesty's predecessors, had granted letters in favour of the clergy for such impropriations as came to the crown; that the clergy of Ireland are universally in his majesty's interest, and more devoted to his person of any clergy in the three kingdoms, as indeed their obligations are greater to him, being by him restored to all they have. 'Tis hoped, if these things were laid before his majesty, he would not refuse so small a request, which is not one farthing out of his pocket, or of any courtier. If therefore your lordship could put to your helping hand to further our petition, it would be a very great obligation on the clergy here, and a real service to his majesty. My lord, I have reason to beg your pardon for this trouble; but it being in the affair of the church, I doubt not but your lordship will favourably interpret the importunity of, my lord, your lordship's most obliged humble servant,"

"W. D."

"Gilbert, lord bishop of Sarum."

The bishop, perceiving with grief and alarm, that many of the church preferments were given to persons totally unworthy of them, and that they were likely to be raised to still higher dignities, wrote to the lord bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, as follows:—

"MY LORD,

"The great concern your lordship has all along manifested in behalf of this church has encouraged the addresses of all that wish her well, and gives me the confidence to recommend to your lordship's knowledge the bearer hereof, Judge Coot, a very hearty friend to the interest of the church and churchmen here, and most zealous for the English protestant interest, which is the true interest of the kingdom.

"My lord, I understand that several clergymen, that have livings in this kingdom, lye at court, and have promises from some there to use their interest with his majesty to procure them the next bishopricks that fall in Ireland. My lord, whatever the merits of these good men may be, their method is very injurious both to the church and government here, and I find it was so esteemed by her late majesty. If such should be encouraged we should have many follow their example, and every one that expected a bishoprick would be obliged to leave his benefice here to curates, as those great men do; and when the attendance of clergymen (that have pretensions to preferments,) at Dublin is become a great grievance to the church, your lordship will easily apprehend what the attendance at London must be. In short, good men would not do it; and as it often happens, ill men would engross the best places by their assiduity. Besides the government here would lose the dependence of the clergy, which is of great moment to the kingdom; and truly every one that is preferred independently of the

chief governor is looked on by him as an enemy, of which I could give examples: and therefore I do hope his majesty will not easily be prevailed on to alter his usual methods, or put affronts on those that he thinks worthy of government here, by preferring persons, without the usual recommendations, which would in a great measure incapacitate his ministers here to serve him, and would not be so safe for his majesty. My lord, I assure your lordship, that nothing but my zeal for the church, and his majesty's service, could prevail with me to give your lordship this trouble; and if I gain no more by it, I am sure of this, that it gives me an opportunity to profess to your lordship, which I am very ambitious to do, that I am your lordship's

"Most obliged humble servant,

"W. D."

"Will. lord bishop of Lichfield and Coventry."

The following letter will be an interesting addition to these; but it is one of those documents which contains much to convey impressions respecting a truth which we cannot enter upon fully, without more space than we have at command: we mean the peculiar course of conduct, so often pursued by English viceroys, from those misconceptions upon Ireland, to which the English public has ever been so liable. Remote impressions are mostly conveyed by the loudest noises, and it was thus that in England the clamour of Irish factions has been so often received as public feeling. It is difficult perhaps not to attribute importance to extravagant outcries, when they appear unopposed: it seems difficult for shallow politicians to be aware how slow the public really is to combine and to utter its real feelings; and it is thus that persons, ignorant as Englishmen must be of the details of Irish classes, come over and pay ridiculous homage to a noisy and imposing phantom, which they mistake for the people of Ireland.

"MY LORD,

"I received the favour of your lordship's letter of Nov. 16th, last week; and I am much obliged to your lordship for the notice you took of my last by Judge Coot, and the consideration you give the intimation therein. My lord, we have lost a very good friend to our church in the late lord chancellor, and it concerns us much, both in respect of the church and kingdom, to have another good man in his place; for if a violent hot man, especially if engaged in the late faction, should succeed him, it would endanger the whole kingdom. I will take leave to discover a matter to your lordship, to which perhaps you are no stranger; and 'tis, that the dissenters' interest in this kingdom is in itself very weak and low, as sufficiently appeared in the last session of our parliament, in which all their interest, joined with the lord deputy's, the speaker of the House of Commons, and all his adherents, could not carry anything that we had not a mind to, and indeed there were hardly ten dissenters in the house. But to deal freely with your lordship, it has been the business of most of our governors since the revolution, to make an interest for dissenters. My lord Capell did it above board, and professed that he had the king's commands to do it, which intimation did them more service than all the other ways

he could have invented: for everybody here has a mighty deference for his majesty's pleasure. To give your lordship an instance of my lord's byas that way, there needs no more but to look over the lists of sheriffs made last year by him, and it will appear that if he could find a dissenter in the whole county, though the meanest contemptible fellow in it, he was sure to be named sheriff, though the great men of the county looked upon it as an affront, and remonstrated from their quarter sessions about it. Now, my lord, if we have such governors still put on us, 'twill be impossible, whatever reason or scripture be against schismatics, to hinder their multiplying; for most people value interest above their religion; and if dissenters be picked out for places of honour, trust, and profit, whilst their equals are passed by, many will daily qualify themselves as they see their neighbours do. I know not how things are in England with the church; but I can assure your lordship this is the case here, and it is a great disservice to his majesty in many respects.

"I am much obliged to your lordship for your favourable censure of those pieces which I ordered Mr Tollett to present your lordship. My lord, I cannot pretend to be the author of any of the arguments in them—the whole was an effect of my reading. Mr Thorndike gave me the notions, and all that I can pretend to is, the taking them out of his obscure stile and method, and putting them into a more modern dress. I have angered the party very much here, but yet have forced them to reform many things, and to speak much more moderately of us and our worthies than formerly. When I came to this diocese, I found the dissenters mighty insolent; and one of our communion could no sooner get into their company, but they immediately fell upon him, sometimes scoffing, and sometimes arguing with him, and our own people had little to say for themselves, but that they had an establishment by law, and that it did not contradict Scripture; but since my book came out they are mute: no persuasions will prevail with them to dispute or talk of religion, and the members of our church insult over them on this account. As to their constitution, I had taken it to task ere this, but I am at a loss what it is, or where to find it: so far as I can perceive they have nothing fixed or certain, but everything is arbitrary according to their fancies. However, I take their humble advice to the parliament in —45 concerning church government on their late heads of argument, to look the most authentick; and I have it in my thoughts, if God grant me health, to describe our constitution and prove it from Scripture, and to compare it with theirs, which, as your lordship rightly observes, is nothing but a heap of human inventions, not only without, but directly contrary to Scripture. I want some help to the perfecting of this work, which I cannot come by in this place; and besides, the subject is very new and ticklish, especially in respect of the foreign church, and must be handled with a new and wary hand, which considerations, together with an imperfect state of health, which I fell into last winter in Dublin, and am not fully recovered, have hindered me from making any great progress in what I intended; and besides, I have some hope from your lordship's letter, that it will be undertaken by a better hand."

We may here briefly notice that some decisive and apparently harsh additions were at this time made to the disabilities affecting the members of the papal church in Ireland. They were, *however*, not conceived in a severe or even unkind spirit; *but* simply for the purpose of giving effect to statutes *already* existing, or obviating certain very evident dangers affecting the church of England. Such, for example, as the prohibition of those unprincipled and inconsiderate intermarriages *between* the members of such opposite communions, as considering the actual state of the law, must have been destructive to the temporal interests of their children, and, looking to far more permanent considerations, were wholly irreconcilable with their spiritual interests. Such marriages are, in most cases, the root and origin of an infidel family, and are sometimes the means of breeding in the minds of children a contempt for all religion, unless in the case where an early change occurs in the creed of either parent: and such a change was likely to be one which must then have deprived them of fortune. The state of law which operated so as to demand such a protection (for such it must be regarded), we have no hesitation in condemning as impolitic, but for no other reason. It was designed to protect the government and the better portion of the people, and through them the kingdom of Ireland, and again through this the entire of the British dominions, from the subversive influence of a foreign interference, *then* of great efficiency and energy. Modern wisdom might have suggested a wiser course (at least we are not here to discuss the point); but there was no delusion in the apprehensions which suggested the course thus pursued, and neither cruelty nor wrong in adopting them. The writers on the opposite side of this question are of two classes—Irishmen writing as partisans, and Englishmen as historical or political theorists. Of these, the former misstate the facts, and the latter reason on their misstatements. It has been the dexterous course of the Irish historians of that party to come forward in the character of plaintiff, and to preoccupy the grounds of complaint, wrong, indignation, and fear; thus enlisting on their side the most alert and influential sympathies of the crowd, and of those who belong to the crowd. If we were to look for an illustration, it would be the strong assailant turning accuser, and cajoling the officers of justice by outcries of distress. These outcries have, it is true, been raised in later generations, when they have gained added speciousness from the obscuring power of time. At the period in question, the same party were far less imposing, and such complaints would have had no weight—the actual state of things was too prominently apparent: there was an avowed and palpable conspiracy kept up and fomented by the agency of foreign powers: the instrument employed was systematic misrepresentation, adapted to work with unquenchable energy on the popular mind. These laws, severe in the letter, but most mercifully administered, were simply protective of those who had a just claim to be protected, and neither unjust nor oppressive. The design of the popular agitators was unconstitutional; their pretext unfounded and dangerous: their success would have been fatal to Ireland, and dangerous to England. We shall hereafter repeat, extend, and maintain this statement. We rejoice in the relief of our countrymen from galling laws; but

we are too much their friend to allow them to be deceived into keeping the habitual tone of grievance, when it has become absurd, and pernicious too.*

In 1697, a bill was introduced into parliament for the preservation of the king's person against the Jacobites, whereby a power of summary proceeding was to be intrusted to the discretion of any two justices. This bill was thrown out; but the part taken against it by King and other bishops gave great offence to government. Some valuable letters written by King on the occasion are extant, and show both the independence of his spirit, and the soundness of his judgment.†

Among the several letters of King's which were written about this time, we extract one, as the means best suited to our limits of giving a distinct view of the condition of the church at the period. It is written to the bishop of Waterford.

“DUBLIN, 28th Sept., 1697.

“My dear and very good lord,

“I have read over yours of the 18th instant with great grief and trouble of mind. I am sensible every word you say is most true, and that it is not possible our church should subsist long in this languishing and crazy condition; but few regard or mind it, and those that are apprized of it are either afraid or wearied out with the ill treatment with which they meet.

“As to those steps of reformation you mention, they are necessary; but they must be obtained by union, perseverance, and industry; whereas, I must profess, I have not one to whom the proposal of them would be grateful. O my lord! we have fallen in evil times, in which it is a step to preferment to the person that will give assurance that, as soon as he is in it, he will disgrace or betray it. This is the fatal method that has been taken since the restoration to destroy us, and is still prosecuted, though by different hands. In short, my lord, we are not like to obtain one good law for the church.

“This sessions some of our own body, and a whole crowd of the inferior clergy, opposed the bill for building houses; and it was with much ado we carried it in the House of Lords. I laboured it near three hours; and had it not been that I got some of the lay lords, it had been left there. But it miscarried in the House of Commons, as I told you formerly. We shall have no bill for unions; or if we have any, it will be worth nothing. We pressed a bill of blasphemy; but it was said there was none in England, which carried it off. We have had no sessions at the Archbishop of Dublin's house, as formerly, nor any committee for religion, at least very seldom. My own business has pressed me so hard, having the society of London and lord chancellor to deal with. I have been much diverted, and your absence has been of no good consequence. We did not meddle with Tolon (query,

* It is the artifice of popular leaders to represent every evil as a grievance; but many (at least) are the necessary results of circumstance. All the sufferings of the Irish peasantry are the direct result of their agitated condition. A few years' quiet would fill the land with comfort and civilization. The course of progress is stopped and driven back by private fear and commercial distrust.

† Mant, II. 78—82.

Toland?), because we could do nothing with him; but the bill of blasphemy was designed against him and his followers. The House of Commons made short work with him, but with the ill precedent which you observe; but it cannot be helped: they that have power must use it, and will do it."

The following, to the same effect, was written within a few days after:—

"My very good lord,

"I am more sensible of the ill aspect that the generality of men cast upon the church and churchmen. The faith of religion is very weak amongst all, and the sense of it almost lost; and the matter is laid deeper than most men are aware of. 'Tis come to a formal conspiracy; and agents and emissaries are employed to cry down the credit of religion in general, and instil profane maxims and principles into youth. My lord, it is not credible what pains are taken this way, and how diligent some persons of great quality are to propagate irreligion. 'Tis hard for us to know what we are to do in these circumstances. If we appear openly and resolutely for our faith, we are twitted with the story of the Ephesian craftsmen: if we are silent and retire, then good men, if they get their bishoprics and benefices, and their ease, they are as indifferent as to religion as their neighbours: if we vote with the court in parliament, we are flatterers; if against it, ungrateful: in short, we are used as our Master was; and I can find no other comfort besides that consideration. I thank God I am willing to be at any pains, and to venture anything for Christ's sake, and do find a comfort and satisfaction in doing so; but I profess to your lordship, that I am often at a loss to determine what is so; and having naturally a diffidence in myself, I need the encouragement and assistance of others to give me assurance; and, I speak it with sorrow, I have not one friend near me that I can with reliance and necessary freedom consult in these matters. I discourse severally; but 'tis with reserve, and without going to the bottom. You have given a good reason for it.

"I own every one of those things you mention: they are in my thoughts, and I believe the laity might be brought to comply with us in most of them; but the clergy are resolute against them, and to struggle with them is to make that averseness publick. I own a convocation necessary, and I had hot disputes about it in England; but all assemblies, that have been long chained up, prove unruly when first let loose; and I am afraid this would prove, in our present juncture, a reason of abrogating them altogether, which I am afraid will happen however; and if you have seen Dr Wake's book against them, for so I reckon that 'tis intended, you will be of the opinion that little less is designed.

"As to my brethren, your lordship knows they are jealous of me, and by no means approve my maxims. They have generally other thoughts and views than I have. This is a thing I cannot help, and dare not blame; not that I fear to offend them, but because I shall lose the little interest I have amongst them by unseasonably pressing

them. If I be mistaken in this method, 'tis my weakness; for I do not decline any opportunity, where I do not apprehend more ill consequence than the good designed, if obtained, would amount to.

"I had particular cautions given me in England, as I told your lordship formerly, not to innovate in anything, and if possible to prevent anything of religion to come upon the carpet; 'for,' said they, 'there are evil designs on foot against you; and if you give them opportunity by moving anything, whatever shape you intend for it, they will finish it into a monster:' and I am well assured that nothing really for our good will at present pass the two councils and two houses; for our enemies have interest to obstruct or distort it, in one or other of these places, as experience shows us. But though I think we are not to expect any good to the cause of religion in our present circumstances, yet I believe it is possible to prevent some evils; and I cannot be reconciled to your absence in such a difficult time. Pray therefore think on it, and do as God shall direct you.

"One would think that the world were somewhat concerned about religion; for, of three bills that past last, one was to prohibit from marrying with papists, and another to banish regulars, and the third, for damning the articles of Lymerick, was on pretence of weakening the popish interest: but, after all, there is not the least consideration of religion at the bottom; and we must learn from this not to judge according to appearance.

"My lord, I have wearied myself sufficiently by this long letter, and can hardly excuse the ill jointing of it altogether. Your lordship will believe that my heart is very full, and my mind little at ease, whilst the ark is in so hazardous a condition. I can add to my best endeavour my prayers and tears to support. I promise myself the concurrence of yours, and in particular for, my lord,

"Your most affectionate humble servant

"and brother,

"W. D.

"To the Bishop of Waterford."

Notwithstanding the depression of the church in Ireland, and the evident indifference on the part of government, which appeared to render hopeless any decided effort for its repair; yet in the following year a bill was passed, which, in the course of time, has operated to amend some of its greatest deficiencies. By this enactment, ecclesiastical persons were empowered to build, improve, or purchase houses and lands for their residence, with a right reserved to receive two-thirds of the sum so expended from their next successors, who in turn were entitled to one-third of the same entire sum, by a similar claim.

But there is altogether apparent, not only a neglect of the concerns of the church, but a strong disposition to usurp its rights, and encroach upon its authority. A letter from King to the bishop of Worcester, strongly complains of the disuse of the convocation, and the usurpation of its fiscal powers by the parliament. And indeed there could not easily be devised a greater usurpation, or more opposed to the principles of the British constitution; for the principle of our law is this, that the people are taxed by their own representatives; and, unques-

tionably, that the clergy should be taxed, *as clergy*,* by any power but their own, amounts to the exclusion of a class from the most important privilege of the constitution. In the session of 1699, the clergy were assessed in the House of Commons for the first time; at which the bishops were allowed to protest. Another grievance was complained of by King, who expresses his strong fear that ecclesiastical preferment would be, for the future, entirely filled from England.

Two extracts which Bishop Mant gives, from the correspondence of King, speak more than volumes upon his personal character, on the actual state of the Irish church, and in some measure upon the condition and habits of society in his time. We shall give them as they occur. The first is addressed to the archbishop of Dublin.

"May it please your Grace,

"I came home Friday last from a parochial visitation through part of this diocese. I visited twenty-one churches, and confirmed in nine. It held me employed twenty-three days. I carried the consistory with me; and prescribed penance to near an hundred people, for one thing or another; and ended several causes. I have yet another circuit, containing about thirteen churches, and had one before. I find this way of great use, and would recommend it to all my brethren. I had great crowds of dissenters everywhere, and entertained them with a discourse, generally showing the no-necessity of a separation on their own principles.

"I presume to give your Grace this account, to excuse my not answering your Grace's of the 28th of June last, it not being possible for me to get time to write; and truly, since the first of June, I have been every day more or less on horseback, excepting two or three days."

The next is to the bishop of Clogher, and on the same subject.

"I have had a most fatiguing summer of it, having gone a parochial visitation through two-thirds of my churches, and shall begin the last third next week. I intend, God willing, to be at Omagh, August the 5th; and from thence I go to Ardmagh, to visit for my lord primate. * * * I have taken more than ordinary pains this circuit—made all my own tenants attend me; and many came with them, so that the churches were generally full. I made some very long discourses to them, insomuch that I had better have preached every day. The subject was, the sin of making sects, and the no-necessity of it. I examined all their pretences, and showed them, if all true, they would not, according to Scripture, justify a separation. They heard with great attention. I find what I said had very good effect on many. Some time or other, God willing, I will put my thoughts into writing, and take your opinion. I found they were new to most that heard me. I confirmed in nine places, and found the churches in good order. I

* We cannot, however, but remark, that even with regard to the ordinary taxation of clergymen as members of the social state, there is some anomaly. They are not *represented* in the House of Commons to the same extent as any other persons. There are some important distinctions.

carried the consistory with me, and assigned penance to near an hundred criminals, and ended several causes. You know my gout seized me this time last year, and I was very apprehensive of it; but, thank God, I am yet well."

Queen Anne succeeded to the crown in March, 1702, on the death of king William. The change caused much anxious hope and fear in the breasts of the two great parties, who were divided by opposite views on many important interests, and on questions affecting the stability of the revolution. These agitations, however, belong to English history, and are worked too much below the surface to be considered as directly influential on the state of Irish affairs. In England, a deep game of intrigue renders the short ensuing reign memorable, as an exemplification of all the falsehood, baseness, and treachery which has been proverbially, but perhaps with some exaggeration, imputed to courts and courtiers. But we shall presently have to delineate this illustration on an ampler scale. King expressed, in one of his letters, his regrets for the death of his great benefactor, from whose wisdom so much was to be expected for Ireland.

In the following year, the death of primate Boyle occasioned a succession of removes and promotions; and King was promoted from Derry to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin. Connected with this translation, we find no particulars of memorable interest. The following letter, written a year after, to the bishop of Norwich, ascertains the fact of his unwillingness to change, with the reasons:—

"It is above a year since I was translated to this see. I was desirous to decline, if the commands of my superiors and importunity of my friends had not prevailed with me against my own opinion, to sacrifice both my ease and profit to their sentiments. My lord, it was not without reason I was unwilling to remove to this station; for I had known the diocese thirty years, had governed it for some time, and knew that it was in worse circumstances (both in respect to discipline and attendance of the cures,) than most others in the kingdom; the numerous appropriations and impropriations in it making the due service of cures and right order almost impracticable: however, I hoped that by the assistance of those whose interest and duty it was to help me, I should be able to do something towards a reformation, though I could not expect all that was to be desired. And I am heartily sorry to tell your lordship, that I find the greatest opposition from those that should in reason be most forward to promote my intentions."

Of the several acts of the Irish parliament in queen Anne's reign, we have already given some account, for which the reader is referred to our political series; and as we must largely revert to the subject of the Irish church in some of the immediately succeeding lives, we may the more easily pretermitt them here.

King found the metropolitan see in a condition which afforded full exercise to his talent, liberality, and zeal. The protestant population had largely increased since the accession of William III., but there

was a deficiency of churches to accommodate its increasing numbers. He repaired fourteen, rebuilt seven, and built nineteen, in places till then destitute of any place for divine service. To effect this beneficial end, he availed himself of the forfeited impropriations, according to the provisions of an Act, 11 William III., aided by the contributions of the wealthy protestants of the diocese, to which he added largely from his own funds. These new churches he supplied with clergymen, by dividing the contiguous pluralities as any of them became vacant, and assigning glebes of twenty acres out of the see lands. In cases where there was no see land in the parish, he obtained it by purchase. By these and other means, he brought the parochial system of his diocese into an efficient condition. It is also to be mentioned, to the praise of his disinterested liberality, that having in the course of these arrangements trenched considerably upon the income of the see, he took just care to indemnify his successors, by the purchase of lands, with which he endowed the see.

Bishop Mant cites a letter from King to Ashe, bishop of Clogher, which displays in a very strong point of view the soundness of his judgment, as well as the earnestness of his concern for the welfare of the church. In this, he urges strongly on that prelate the error and pernicious effects of the course which he was about to adopt for the preferment of his brother; and points out, in terms no less clear and distinct than conclusive, the disadvantages attending pluralities; and explains the just and correct course to be adopted for the preferment of good clergymen—first placing them in such livings as first offered, and then promoting them to better as they fell vacant—a method to be praised, as evidently preserving the nearest possible proportion between merit and reward, efficiency and station.

The inefficiency of the convocation in the year 1705 was a subject of much anxious disquietude and strong complaint to the archbishop. The lower house of convocation appear to have proceeded with diligence, and proposed several useful laws, which were however rejected or not entertained by the upper house, to the great vexation of archbishop King, who, in several letters, complains in strong and often pathetic terms of the indifference, the want of energy, or the subserviency betrayed by many of his brethren.

Among the irregularities which still continued to prevail, in consequence of inadequate provision for the respectable support of the Irish church, was the difficulty of obtaining persons of perfect competency to fill the ministerial office. Such a want has always the necessary effect of bringing forward an inferior class of candidates for ordination; and thus various irregularities must creep in. The indolence and inattention of many prelates permitted such an evil at this period to rise to a dangerous extent; and among those who sought admission on easy terms into holy orders, these prelates became distinguished by the term of *ordainers*. Against this abuse the archbishop took an active part; and, from a letter which was occasioned by some incident in the course of his proceedings, he mentions the course pursued by himself toward candidates for orders. "The method I take, when I ordain any, is this:—First, he applies himself to me in private, and I

examine him. I never ordain any that I have not known personally for some time. If he give me satisfaction as to his life, title, and learning, then I summon four or five of the clergy, according to the canons, to assist me in the examination, which lasts publicly four days. Each takes such part as is agreed. The candidates exhibit all their testimonials, titles, &c., and the registrar enters a brief of it. If any come from another diocese, or be to be preferred in it, I do not admit him but at the request of the bishop; for I think it reasonable that every bishop should have the examination of those that are to serve in his diocese. By this method I have had some trouble, but have avoided all importunity and surprise about conferring orders, though I have been a bishop eighteen years."

The cause to which this disadvantage of the Irish church has been mainly attributed here, is well illustrated also by another statement which the archbishop makes. Of the fifty ministers in the country portion of his diocese, the five highest incomes amounted to no more than £100 a-year. About a dozen were less than £40: some had nothing certain, and others from £10 to £16. To have raised the clergy of Ireland from this hapless condition was indeed the most important of the archbishop's many great services to Ireland; and it may therefore not be too much to offer some further illustrations of this state of things, and of the sacrifices and exertions which they elicited from his zeal and liberality. "In Wicklow and Arklow," he mentions, in a letter to Mr Wentworth, "the one has ten, and the other eleven parishes, to make a competency; and 'tis generally so through this diocese. Each of those ministers has two churches to serve, and at a considerable distance." To the same gentleman he makes proposals for the purchase of his impropriations, mentions the heavy expenses to which he had already been induced, observing that he was yet unwilling to lose the opportunity for the purchase of the impropriations which Mr Wentworth was desirous to sell. The information given here is much extended in another letter to the bishop of Ferns, at whose diocese the archbishop had been, on his triennial visitation. In this letter, the pernicious anomaly of impropriation is strongly illustrated, as it appears from the archbishop's statement. Of one hundred and thirty-one parishes in Ferns, seventy-one were impropriated in lay hands; twenty-eight were appropriated to the bishop, dignitaries, and prebendaries of cathedrals, &c.; and thirty-two only in the possession of the working clergy,—these latter being the worst.

Among other proofs of the archbishop's industrious zeal in remedying the wants of the Irish church, was a form for the consecration of churches, there having been no authority for the form then in use in Ireland. It seems to have been considered a matter of much nicety, on which the English convocation had not been able to agree. The archbishop used his own form, of which he observes, that some of the numerous churches he had consecrated were "in a crowd of dissenters," to whom the form he used gave satisfaction. This he soon after published, under the title of "A Discourse concerning the Consecration of Churches; showing what is meant by Dedicating them, with the Grounds of that Office,"—this form "having been previously agreed

to at a synod and visitation of the diocese of Dublin, held in the cathedral church of St Patrick's" in the same year.*

In the year 1709, and the following year, great exertions were made for the instruction of the Irish peasantry, through the medium of their native tongue. The bishops, in their convocation, introduced the subject, referring its consideration to the lower assembly, where it was warmly entertained. A memoir also, from the nobility and gentry, was presented to the duke of Ormonde. Several of the bishops and clergy exerted themselves to the same end; but chiefly the primate, with archbishop King, bestirred themselves with efficacy and zeal. Under the archbishop's patronage, a professor was appointed to teach the Irish language in the university. He also engaged Mr Richardson, who had already been most effectually employed in the same good service, to "solicit the printing of Irish Bibles, the liturgy, and an exposition of the church catechism, for the people." On this interesting topic, the reader may find fuller information in our memoir of the Rev. John Richardson, of whose memoir it will form the material.

In the same interval of time, the archbishop took a leading part among the Irish bishops in the important solicitation for the remission of the first-fruits and twentieth-parts, taxes affecting the church livings, and payable to the crown. This affair had been previously brought forward seven years before, but let drop for want of proper solicitation. It was now committed to Swift, and by him carried to a successful issue. From his memorial to Mr Harley, we learn that the twentieth-parts were "twelve pence in the pound, paid annually out of all ecclesiastical benefices, as they were valued at the reformation. They amount to £500 per annum." The petition was, that these should be remitted to the clergy. From the same document, we learn that "the first-fruits, paid by all incumbents to her majesty on their promotion, amounted to £450 per annum." Of these it was proposed to make "a fund for purchasing glebes and impropriations, and rebuilding churches."

But Swift, not content with pressing merely these two points, which went to the full extent of his commission, drew up a second memorial, in which he also included the crown rents. These were payable by those parishes of which the queen was impropiator: they consisted of a half-yearly rent payable by the incumbent, and amounted to a third-part of the value of the tithes.

The two former imposts were remitted by the queen: the crown rents were not actually pressed for: Harley, to whom Swift communicated both memorials, advised the postponement of this part of his suit for the time, as likely to endanger his success. The patent was completed, February, 1711,—exonerating the Irish clergy from the twentieth-parts, and vesting the first-fruits in the archbishop of Armagh and others, for the purposes already mentioned.

As we are under the necessity of contracting this memoir, we shall not enter upon the account of the archbishop's earnest and judicious

* Mant's History, II.

exertions for an authorized and fit adaptation of the occasional forms of public prayer.*

For the same reason, we do not consider it expedient to notice the archbishop's well-directed patronage of some public men, of whom we must take some separate notice. He was the kind and efficient patron of Parnell and of Ambrose Philips. His correspondence with dean Swift is to be found in the collection of Swift's works; and though we have not largely availed ourselves of them in this memoir, as they principally relate to affairs on which it is our desire to be summary,† yet they have largely entered into our study of the writer, and will afford us some useful assistance farther on. Swift was at this time in the climax of his importance in the field of political party, and of his favour with Harley and St John; and the archbishop displays much anxiety for his interests, by frequent and urgent exhortations to use the favourable season for his own advantage. Swift was also in the full exertion of his extraordinary powers, in that way which may perhaps be considered their proper application; and it is sometimes amusing to read the sage counsels of the grave and powerful divine and metaphysician to the keen satirist and the adroit partisan, to produce some great work worthy of his learning and genius. This approaches sometimes nearly to the effect of an irony, when he appeals to the same correspondent on the malice of certain persons. "You see how malicious some are towards you, in printing a parcel of trifles, falsely, as your works. This makes it necessary that you should shame the varlets, by writing something that may enlighten the world; which I am sure your genius will reach, if you set yourself to it."

Upon the death of the primate, November, 1713, there was an expectation among the friends of the archbishop that he would be the person selected to fill that high station; and there can be no doubt that such a selection must have been the result of a fair and just regard to the character of the individual, or to the real interests of the church. Such indeed never was, or is likely to be, the primary ground of choice, though we believe it has been recognised as a subordinate rule to promote learning, talent, and even piety, when the main object of party interests might so permit.

If wisdom, piety, and a life of the most exemplary zeal and efficiency in the discharge of the episcopal duties, were primarily regarded, no one had a higher claim than archbishop King to the primacy. But, unfortunately for the occasion, he was looked on as belonging to "the other party," by a government which professed one set of principles, and privately acted on another. With their overt declaration, their pretended principles of action, their settled enactments, and avowed policy and design in favour of the protestant succession, the archbishop conscientiously agreed; but he was not to the full extent aware of the prevaricating system of dark and underworking manœuvres by which the basest set of men and women that ever wormed their way into royal

* Full information on this subject will be found in Mant's History of the Irish Church, vol. ii. 251—259.

† They are at this period wholly on the first-fruits.

favour were counteracting in private, what they publicly professed to support. The archbishop cannot be supposed ignorant of the real spirit of that administration. He was indeed in the habits of intimacy with Swift, then the friend and counsellor both of the double-tongued Harley, and the unprincipled and profligate St John. "Your Grace," writes Swift, "is looked upon here as altogether in the other party, which I do not allow when it is said to me. I conceive you follow the dictates of your reason and conscience; and whoever does that, will, in public management, often differ from one side as well as the other." There is, however, no explicit mention of the primacy on the part of the archbishop or his correspondent, from which any expectation might be inferred; and we therefore presume that there was upon the subject so clear and full an understanding of the real obstacles, that the archbishop did not give any thought to so vain a delusion. We believe indeed that he was far from entertaining even a wish on the occasion; for he disliked change, and was perhaps, from his growing infirmities, apprehensive of the new and laborious exertions attendant upon it. He was free from ambition, and his whole conduct through life thoroughly confirms his constant profession of having no wish but the advancement and reform of the Irish church. In one of his letters at the same period, this sentiment is strongly, and we are convinced, sincerely expressed. "As to the vacant preferments in the church, I have nothing to pray for but that God would direct her majesty to persons that may be equal to such great trusts, &c. . . . One thing I would heartily wish, and 'tis, that her majesty would not be too forward to gratify the importunity of such as leave their cures and charges to solicit preferments at court; that being, in my opinion, a practice mischievous to the church and kingdom, and what will create her majesty infinite and endless trouble." This paragraph exhibits, in aspect too plain for comment, the sad condition of this time of profound political corruption, when the government, wholly sunk in the strife of ministerial intrigue, held all its functions as neutral for all other ends but the vital struggle between the Whigs and Jacobites, and the house of Hanover, which all pretended to support, and between the Pretender, for whom the court party secretly laboured to prepare the way. In such a position of things, in which duplicity became a recognised principle of favour, all baseness found a hotbed, and the assertion of the holier and purer principles of action had in them something too sour and stern not to be regarded with dislike and fear. There was a general relaxation of the ordinary constraints which hold men to their duties, and there was an ambiguity in the conditions of government patronage which made any declaration of sentiments indiscreet and ineffective. If the candidate for preferment proclaimed himself a Jacobite, he was of course exposed to the law, and in opposition to the professed policy of the government; if a Whig, he became obnoxious to its real designs. In this dilemma, the alternative left for those to whom preferment was the only consideration worth a care, was to betake themselves to the stage of contest, and display their gifts of time-serving and hypocrisy, for the approbation of the last of the Stuarts, and her coggling and shuffling accomplices in state craft.

In this state of things, (the minimum of that little honesty which

belongs to courts,) a man such as King had nothing to hope: as was said of another great man in after times, "he stood alone," too sagacious to be ignorant of the path to preferment, too true to pursue it: not expecting or desiring any favour of which he knew the dishonourable price: but steadily resisting and denouncing in the only safe or effectual way the evil practices of others. This is what appears to us to be the plain explanation, both of his silence as to his own claims, and his significant reproofs of the conduct of his mitre-hunting and steeple-chasing brethren.

He preached the primate's funeral sermon on Psalm cxii. v. 6. In a letter which he wrote on the occasion, he expresses the sense he entertained of the expediency of doing honour to the memory of one, whose example might be made effectual to incite others, in a time when acts of public beneficence were rare. He also incidentally mentions, as having occurred in the interval since his appointment, the munificent bequests of Dr Stephens and Sir Patrick Dun, which we shall have in our next division to notice more at large.

The primacy was filled by the appointment of Dr Lindsay, the son of a Scotch minister, and at the time bishop of Raphoe.

But the state of affairs which we have summarily explained here, as we shall be under the necessity of viewing them more distinctly in another memoir, had happily its termination. The ministerial intrigues of that disgraceful cabinet were suddenly paralyzed by the death of the queen, on the 1st of August 1714. The accession of the house of Hanover was soon felt in the administration of Irish affairs, but our immediate concern is with the history of the archbishop. He had retired for the summer months to a house near Dublin, belonging to the earl Fitzwilliam, and here he was surprised on the 15th of September by an express from the duke of Shrewsbury, acquainting him with his appointment as one of the lords justices. Joined with him in this commission were the earl of Kildare and the archbishop of Tuam. On the merits and result of this appointment, we should here quote some sentences from Mr Harris, but we shall in preference offer them with the comments of Dr Mant, whose paragraph we extract as it stands. "Archbishop King was uniformly conspicuous for his zealous attachment to the House of Hanover, and to the succession of the crown in that protestant family; as necessary, under divine Providence, to the security and welfare of the constitution in church and state:" and Mr Harris confidently attributes it "in a great measure to his seasonable counsel, and the weighty authority which his known wisdom, long experience, and confessed probity, had procured him, that the city of Dublin was preserved steady and united in an unshaken affection to the succession of the royal family of Hanover." Information of the archbishop's untainted loyalty and extraordinary merit being communicated to the king, caused him to be invested with the highest trust in the kingdom, which he discharged with such ability and integrity, and at the same time with so much prudence, moderation, and kindness, as to occasion the re-instatement or continuance in employment of many civil and military officers, who had been, or were in danger of being removed on a suspicion of disloyalty. "This," observes his contemporary biographer, "is attested by many now

living, who gratefully own the truth of this fact. And it is notorious," he continues, "that by his and the other lords justices' prudent directions, and steady conduct, during their presiding in the public administration, the whole nation was in an even and calm temper, not the least tending to riots or insurrections, and at a season when our standing army was transported to suppress the rebellion in Great Britain."

The archbishop had difficulties to encounter, such as might well abate any satisfaction to be derived from this mark of favour from the new administration. The spirit of party had run so high; so many had in several ways committed themselves; the suspicions of the Whigs were so much on the alert, and their zeal so lively, that it was a matter of strong fear to the archbishop that some attempt would be made to make him instrumental to extreme and harsh proceedings, which he had ever deprecated and would still refuse to sanction. He was also sensible of the infirmities of ill health, and old age, which latterly had been growing upon him. He was yet glad to avail himself of an occasion which he hoped would increase his means of benefiting the great cause of religion. There were several vacancies in the church, and there had been hitherto a most scandalous disregard of every consideration which ought to have weight, in Irish preferments. The Irish church had been treated as a convenient receptacle for such claimants as could not be safely provided for in England—and was thus filled with the refuse and incapacity of the English clergy. It was also complained of by the archbishop, that the new lord-lieutenants, who were changed nearly every three years, brought over as chaplains whoever they wished to provide for. These evils, with others already noticed, offered a vast weight of discouragement to the archbishop. He was also strong in his representations of the unhappy consequences of the entire ignorance which prevailed in England as to the actual condition of the Irish church. The patronage of government was lavished with the most reckless disregard to circumstances,—the sixth of a diocese, amounting to perhaps twenty parishes, which required the service of, at least, twenty clergymen, was put together to make up the sum of two hundred a-year for some claimant, who, as a matter of course, would consider himself exempt from any residence or sacrifice of means to provide substitutes. These facts are, indeed, well worthy of attention, as affording materials for an explanation of the seeming permanency of the papal communion in Ireland. They could easily be authenticated and extended. They are here offered to the reader's attention, on the authority of the letters of archbishop King, which any one who desires to see, may find in Dr Mant's history. The lengthened space which they would occupy has made us sparing of such insertions. The life of archbishop King, indeed, demands a volume to itself: such a volume would not only contain the most important portion of our church history, but might be made the vehicle for the discussion, with regard to Ireland, of several of the most important questions in ecclesiastical polity.

The weight of the archbishop's influence, continued exertion, and uncompromising remonstrance and urgency, went far to abate this evil state of our church affairs. The sees were filled to his satisfaction, and he was enabled by securing the promotion of some of his

own friends to consult most effectually for the interests of religion. There prevailed for a time, some degree of irritation among the clergy here in common with those in England—Jacobite feelings could not fail to infect them largely, and the reputed Lutheranism of king George was an alarm to some, and a pretext to others. This absurd apprehension passed away too soon to be dwelt on here. The archbishop, by authority tempered by moderation, kindness, and the influential counsel of good sense, restrained and quieted the minds of many in his own diocese; and we learn from his letters to several bishops, that his efforts were as assiduously directed to set them right, and to urge those who might be remiss in their duty.

In 1716, we find the archbishop in England for the recovery of his health. At this time there was a renewal of his interrupted correspondence with Swift, who seems to have broken the ice on this occasion, by a letter containing some mention of diocesan affairs, but chiefly expressive of his sense of the detrimental effect of any estrangement between the dean of St Patrick's, and the archbishop of Dublin. The dean was not of a mettle to be complimentary to those from whom he expected nothing,—by temperament he was stern and sincere, though under circumstances his inordinate ambition counterbalanced or rather tempered and refined these coarse virtues; to the archbishop, he shows, however, a degree of veneration and respect, which could not be otherwise than sincere, from the justness of his praise and its entire disinterestedness.

The archbishop's bold and uncompromising character exposed him to much enmity from opponents, and some prejudice among those who were disappointed at not finding any partisanship in his adherence. To him, the truly able and good alone could be friends; for such alone could find in him a thorough alliance and co-operation. He was at this period the more loudly complained of in Ireland, because he was absent: and there is a letter extant which he wrote expressly in his own defence, which goes so fully into the detail of his conduct and motives of action; and conveys so strong an impression of his character, that we shall insert it here: though long beyond our established limits of quotation, it will enable us materially to abridge the subsequent portion of this memoir.

"Sir,—I received yours of the 19th of Feb., yesterday, and two before; but have had a long fit of gout in my right hand, which has disabled me to write, and it is with pain I handle my pen. I thank you for the account you give me; as to what concerns my lord primate, I have nothing to say; but as to my being an opinionative man, and wedded to my own way, it is no news to me.

"It was the constant clamour of Sir Constantine Phipps, and all that party, and no wonder, when I am almost single in opposition to their designs. And I believe I shall take the same way, if I should perceive anything carrying on to the prejudice of his majesty's prerogative, of the interest of religion, or the public. But I have had the fortune in everything where I was reckoned to be positive, to be justified by the event; and, when the mischiefs of the contrary management have appeared, then I have universally been acknowledged to

have been in the right: and I am sorry that I am able to give so many instances where it so happened. I never yet, that I remember, stood out against the current of common opinion, but I have, at long running, either gained my point or seen the repentance of those that blamed me.

"I hope the diocese of Derry, whilst I was in it, and the diocese of Dublin, since I came to it, have not been the worse for my steadiness: for so I call that virtue which others call positiveness, opinionative, and being wedded to my own way. The truth is, my ways are the ways prescribed by the common and by the ecclesiastical laws, and so ought not to be called my ways; but generally, the ways of those that censure me are truly their own ways, being contrary to laws, canons, and justice. It is easy for a few whisperers in London, whose designs and practices I have opposed, to tell ill stories, and prejudice people against any one: but I believe if it were put to the vote of the people of Ireland to judge of my conduct, I should have as many of all sorts approving it, protestants, dissenters, and papists, as any of my easy complying neighbours would have for justifying theirs. Though I am little concerned about that, my business not being to please men but God: and he is so good, that when a man's ways please him, he often makes his enemies at peace with him, and beyond all expectation his reputation is cleared. You say, the person who discoursed you acknowledged that I had been and was useful and serviceable to the church: assure yourself that if ever I was so in anything, it was by doing those very things that got me the censure of being opinionative and singular.

"I remember an understanding and sincere friend once ingenuously told me, that I was too rough and positive in my treating my clergy, and proposed to me the example of the late bishop of Meath, Doctor Dopping, a person who was in truth much better skilled in the laws and constitutions of the church than I was, had the good thereof as much at heart as any man could have, was of a meek and gentle spirit, and managed all things with mildness and gentle persuasion. I asked my friend whether he was well acquainted with the dioceses of Meath and Derry, and desired him to tell me whether of them he thought in best condition, as to the churches built and repaired, as to the progress of conformity, service of the cures, and flourishing of the clergy as to their temporals. He freely owned that Derry was in a much better condition as to all these, and that it was due to the care I had taken. To which I replied, that he knew the churches had been more destroyed in Derry, and the state of the clergy and conformity more disturbed and wasted than in any place of Ireland: and yet in five or six years that I had been there bishop, it was put in a better posture by the methods I took, than Meath was in fifteen by the bishops: and he might judge by that which of the two were best. I asked also if he had lately discoursed any of the Derry clergy: he said he had, and said he found them much altered as to their opinion of my proceedings: and they thought at first, when I began, that it was impossible to bring the discipline of the church, and conformity to the pass in which they were then; that they found themselves agreeably deceived, both as to their spiritual and temporal advantages: and thus ended all the loud

clamours raised at first against my positiveness, singularity, and tyranny: and I believe you may remember something of this.

"As to the other part that concerns charity, I have been sixteen years archbishop of Dublin, and can show visibly, besides what is private, that above £70,000 has been laid out and given to works of charity, such as building churches, poor houses, schools, and hospitals, and other pious uses in the diocese, which I think a great deal in so poor a country. I hope neither my example nor persuasions have given any discouragement to the good disposition of the donors.

"As to charity schools, I have perhaps more in this city than are in most of the kingdom; besides, what my opinion was of them seven years ago, you will see by the enclosed, which is a copy of a letter I wrote to Mr Nicholson at that time.

"I have only now to add to it, that I observed with great grief, that the management of many of these schools was got into the hands of persons disaffected to the revolution and government: and what the effect of that may be in time, it is easy to judge. I am sure I shall never encourage them, and will take the best care I can to put them into right hands in my own diocese.

"Another thing I apprehended, that the clergy, on account of these schools, may think themselves freed from the most excellent method proposed for teaching the principles of Christianity in the rubricks annexed to the Catechism and office of confirmation in our common Prayer Book, which if enforced and duly executed, would effectually propagate all the necessary knowledge for christians to all manner of persons; whereas the teaching six or seven hundred poor children, the number of those settled in Dublin, no ways answers the end of our rubricks which reaches all. I therefore endeavour to put the clergy on doing their duty, and this is one of my particular ways to which I am wedded, and which doth not please at all. I have good hope of these schools, whilst under a strict eye, and in well affected hands, and whilst they depend on the yearly contributions of well-disposed christians; for those will, I suppose, take care that their money be not misapplied: and schoolmasters and mistresses will take care to give a good account, for fear they should get no more. But if once they come to have legal and settled endowments, I doubt they will be managed as other charities that are on that foot.

"Of what moment I reckon the training up of youth in a right way, you may see from my printed charity sermon, preached at St Margaret's, Westminster, on Proverbs xxii. 6.

"I shall add no more, but my most hearty prayers for you: and that I am,

"Sir, yours, &c.

"W. D."

"John Spranger, Esq., at Henry Hoar's, Esq.
"in Fleet Street, London."

To the just and conclusive vindication contained in this most able and interesting letter, there is nothing to be added, but that—from all we have been enabled to discover in the history of his time, or in the accounts of his life—it contains nothing more than the most rigid and

allowed truth. It was not indeed for his faults that King at any time became unpopular or obnoxious to any party: his is in truth a very peculiar case of one who courted none, but took up his uncompromising stand on principle: a great and rare distinction in a public man. Though a staunch supporter of the protestant succession, for which he did more in Ireland than any other individual, his support stopped short at the bounds of constitutional expediency and the interests of the church: and the party which, ascribing to him only those low motives by which parties are actuated, counted upon him as an adherent, were irritated to find that when they would have sacrificed the church and trampled on the feelings of Ireland, they had a firm and able opponent in archbishop King.

The British government—in fact influenced by the struggle against Jacobitism, from which it had recently emerged—partly imposed on by the interested, and wholly ignorant of Ireland, soon lost sight of all consideration but the one: the strengthening of the English interest in this kingdom: an object, it is true, essential to the improvement of Ireland, but then pursued without regard to the only principles on which it should proceed. We cannot enter here into details, for most of which there will occur more appropriate space; but in addition to those acts of misgovernment, already so frequently noticed in this memoir, and on which the extracts we have given are so explicit, the criminal negligence of the English government was shown by the remissness of those appointed as lord-lieutenants, who absented themselves altogether, taking no further part in Irish affairs than an occasional visit to enforce some unconstitutional or oppressive and arbitrary measure, to over-awe parliament, and provide by church preferments for a train of needy dependents for the most part unqualified. At the same time, and in concert with the same system of neglect and contempt, the English parliament began to assert a jurisdiction of appeal, and a legislative superiority in Ireland: the first, in the suit between Sherlock and Annesly; and the second, in an act in which the British parliament was declared to have full power and authority “to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the *kingdom* of Ireland.” A curious blunder to occur in such a composition: such an act, if it could have any validity, was indeed equivalent to a “union.” On this occasion, as also on the question of the appellate jurisdiction, the archbishop was one of three or four peers, who openly expressed his dissent, and gave a strenuous opposition in his place in the house, as well as by the utmost exertion of his influence. On the last mentioned occasion he entered a spirited protest on the journals, in which he asserted the independence of Ireland.

Such irrespective courses of policy could not indeed fail to alienate the affections of those, whose support had been on any constitutional principle. Men who maintained the English interests for the good of Ireland, and the maintenance of the church, were little likely to sacrifice these interests for the support of government. And thus it came, that the archbishop was not without reason looked on about this time as one of the most influential leaders of the opposition in Ireland.

There occurred at the same time a considerable emigration of protes-

tants from Ireland: it was occasioned by a general rise in the rent of their farms, which was carried by the landlords so far, as to make it impossible for their tenantry to subsist: as on former occasions, when their farms were set up for the highest offer, the papists, who were less provident in their bargains, could live on less, and were also less precise as to the payment of their rents, easily outbid the previous occupants, who, being thus dispossessed, left the country in crowds. Advantage of this fact was taken by the dissenters, to represent it as mainly a consequence of the disabilities under which they lay; and, in compliance with their importunities, a toleration bill was proposed, and hurried through the Irish parliament. Against this archbishop King took an active part, and his letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, and others, contain the most full explanation of these facts and of the consequent proceedings in the Irish parliament. From his accounts* it will appear that the dissenters were in reality indifferent as to the toleration bill, which they had at former times refused, but that there was at that time some hope entertained among them to introduce the "solemn league and covenant" into Ireland: a hope for which, indeed, there was strong grounds, in the neglected condition of the established church, the consequence of insufficient endowments, an ill-appointed clergy, and a patronage most unduly appropriated and scandalously applied by the government. The Irish commons had no great leaning to the dissenters, but were alarmed by apprehensions of a bill projected by the government, to prevent which they brought in a bill of their own, hastily got up, and strenuously opposed in its course by King, and the other archbishops. It, nevertheless, passed, and was rendered still more objectionable in the privy council, where it was altered with a degree of inadvertence, which, in the archbishop's opinion, annulled the act of uniformity. With these general statements we must here be content, as we have already exceeded our limits: and endeavour to confine the remainder of this memoir to the more immediate history of the archbishop.

The English government had taken a warm interest in the measures to which we have adverted, and George I. had in various public ways expressed himself in their favour: it may therefore be well conceived, that the archbishop was not high in favour. The treatment he received on every occasion which brought him into contact with his opponents or with the members of the Irish government, seems to have been harsh. A man like King was not to be depressed by a corrupt and misguided faction; but the infirmities of age were growing fast upon him, and with his ardent zeal he must have frequently felt the mortification of being incapacitated from those arduous affairs in which there were so few to take his place.

Considering the temper of venality, selfishness, and subserviency, which (at all times, the tendencies of public life) were in a peculiar manner the features of that time, we should be inclined to infer, that a man so direct and uncompromising in the pursuit of right, and the observance of duty, and so frank in his remonstrances and suggestions, must have been to some extent unpopular, among the crowd of official

* These letters may be found in Mant's Hist.

or political persons. Among this large and honourable class, there are conventional notions, by which men may pursue their private interests to any convenient extent, without sacrificing the consciousness of honour and virtue, further than human pride will easily permit. To this accommodating virtue a plain speaker is insufferable, and the more so, because his urgency seldom admits of any reply. Among the letters already cited here, there are instances enough of this temper; and it would be easy, were it worth while, to pursue a point of character, to bring together a striking collection of specimens of this severe simplicity of remonstrances or reproof, urged with a strength of reason, or a knowledge of facts, such as to create a formidable sense of the writer's keen and stern rectitude of spirit. An amusing specimen may be offered from one of his letters to secretary Southwell:—"Consider you have received out of Ireland, at least sixty thousand pounds since the revolution, which is more than the tenth part of all the current coin of Ireland; and sure there ought to be some footstep of charitable work done to a kingdom, out of which you have drained so vast sums." In another letter, in answer to one in which the same gentleman complains of gouty ankles, the archbishop tells him that he wants money to build three or four churches, and suggests, that if Mr Southwell would contribute a large sum for the purpose, the discharge of the superfluous weight might relieve his infirm ankles: "I am now," he writes, "going on in my forty-third gouty year, and if I had not taken care to keep myself light that way, I had certainly been a cripple long ago: you see then your remedy, pray try it; a little assignment of a year's salary, though it may not cure your ankles, will certainly ease a toe." This is rather rude railing, and would now be inadmissible perhaps in friendly correspondence; but we think it indicates in a striking manner the peculiar temper of this great prelate.

It is about this period that he is alluded to by Swift, in his "proposal for the universal use of Irish manufacture," in a manner which shows the Archbishop's zeal for the promotion of this object. "I have, indeed, seen the present Archbishop of Dublin clad from head to foot in our own manufacture; and yet, under the rose, be it spoken, his Grace deserves as good a gown as if he had not been born among us."

We have already noticed the decision in the suit between the Archbishop, and the Dean, and Chapter, of Christ's Church. With this body he seems to have had no less than four suits, which, had every one of them been prosecuted through every court of competent jurisdiction in both kingdoms, by writs of error and appeals; and in all were decided against the Chapter. The Archbishop had throughout pressed his rights with all the earnest zeal of his character, not from the mere disposition to maintain his own personal authority; a reason, however, fully sufficient; but from his great anxiety to correct the flagitious irregularities which disgraced that Chapter, which was remiss in its proper offices, and regardless of the decent and orderly regulation and care of their cathedral. "They live in opposition to all mankind," writes King, "except their two lawyers, Mr Rutley, and Mr Burke; squander away their economy; have turned their chapter house into a toy-shop, their vaults into wine cellars; and allowed a

room in the body of their church, formerly for a grand jury room, and now for a robe room for the judges; and are greatly chagrined at my getting two or three churches built, and consecrated in the parishes belonging to their body, which were formerly neglected, as several others still are. Their cathedral is in a pitiful condition; and, in short, the dean and chapter, and all their members, seem to have little regard to the good of the church, or to the service of God. This consideration has made me zealous to settle my jurisdiction over them, and the same makes them unwilling to come under it."

From all we have stated, it may easily be anticipated that the death of primate Lindsay, which occurred in 1724, held out no real prospect of further promotion to the archbishop. He was evidently unsuited to the one sole purpose observed by the government in the appointments of the church:—the prelate who could venture to oppose any one of their measures, or to offer the slightest indication of an independent regard to his own duty,—the maintenance of the church, or the welfare of Ireland, was not the fit material for an archbishop of Armagh; and though his friends were zealous for his appointment, he entertained neither a hope nor desire to change. He knew what was expected; he also considered the enormous labour which he should have to encounter in reforming the northern see, and the strife unsuited to the fast increasing infirmities of his age. On these points, we may refer the student of ecclesiastical history to his correspondence with Dr Marmaduke Coghill, Dean Swift, and others.

On this occasion, the usual agitation of ecclesiastical expectations and speculations was terminated by the appointment of Dr Boulter, of whom we shall give some account in a separate memoir. In a notice on Swift's correspondence it is affirmed, that on Lindsay's death the archbishop "immediately laid claim to the primacy;" and that the reason alleged for a refusal was his advanced age. The annotator goes on to state that the archbishop found no other way of testifying his resentment, except by a rude reception of the new primate, whom he received at his own house, and in his dining parlour, without rising from his chair; and to whom he made an apology in his usual strain of wit, and with his usual sneering countenance; "My lord, I am sure your Grace will forgive me, because you know I am too old to rise." The language of this extract is evidently that of an enemy,—the description of his usual sneering countenance conveys a sentiment of bitterness. The grave, earnest, and kind, though strenuous, character of the archbishop is too amply testified by extant documents, and recorded facts, to leave any doubt as to the entire unsuitableness of such a description; but, considering the baseness of the times, it is not unlikely that such an expression of countenance may have been that most likely to be elicited by the author of such a note. This person has, we now know, certainly dealt in flippant assertions without any justifiable ground, as to the pretended claim of the primacy. As to the wit, it is very likely to be correctly stated, though falsely interpreted by one who could only comprehend some little purpose of a mean mind. The archbishop was, it is likely, unable to rise from his chair: the *mot* was but the frank wit which belonged to his character

and could never be mistaken unless by some petty malice, that outstrips its purpose, for a mark of resentment.

The archbishop's rapid decline into the physical infirmities of age, was such as to exclude him in a great measure from the more public concerns of Ireland. In the affairs of his diocese, he still took the same anxious and judicious interest; as his clear and sagacious intellect retained its vigour and soundness to the last. He was yet disabled for the discharge of those offices which required the smallest bodily exertion; and both in his visitations, and confirmations, received ready and kind assistance from his brother bishops. The gout by which he had been periodically visited for many years now began to return at such diminished intervals, and with such severe effects, that his death began to be an anxious subject of speculation, with the Irish government; and we find the primate taking constant precautions to secure a successor who might strengthen his hands in the virtual government of Irish affairs which was committed to him.

Still, we find the archbishop in the midst of sufferings and infirmities, and himself looking for the termination of his labours and anxieties; displaying on every occasion, the same alertness to resist what was wrong or prejudicial to the church, and kingdom, and to remedy, or reform what was defective or ill-ordered. He was strenuous in his remonstrances on the continued abuses of government patronage; and with the ordinary fortune of those who carry their notion of right beyond their time, he still experienced not much thanks, and a great deal of hostility.

He exerted himself with his ancient zeal, but diminished success, to obtain an increase of churches in Dublin; and the last letter, written with his own hand, was addressed to lady Carteret, on this subject. Through the whole correspondence of these later years of his life, there continues to run the same strength of understanding, firmness of principle, and characteristic freedom from narrow and self-reflecting indications. And from the considerable portions of his letters which we have seen in Swift's correspondence, as well as in the work of Bishop Mant, who has obtained them from MS. books in the possession of the university, and elsewhere, we should venture to say, that were they printed, as we trust they may be, there would be very few, if any such collections, so valuable as an illustration of the history of his time, or of the wisdom, integrity, and singleness of the man. From several of these before us, we can now but transcribe a few sentences which we select for their peculiar bearing on his own view of his approaching death. A letter to Mr Southwell is terminated with this affecting retrospect. "This day requires my remembering it; for, thirty-nine years ago, I was imprisoned in the castle by king James; I pray God make me thankful to him, who preserved me then, and hath ever since protected and supported me, and hath given me a long and happy life." In a letter of the next month, to the Bishop of Killala, he says, "I don't complain of the approach of the night of death—for that, I thank God, I am not solicitous about; but, it is uneasy to me to observe, that though the duties of a bishop are incumbent upon me, yet I am not able to discharge them in person."

In another letter to the Bishop of Cloyne, written on the same day, he writes; "I can by no means be of opinion that I have done my work, or that I should sit down and rest from my labours. St Paul has set me a better example, who, when he had laboured a thousand times more than I, and to much better purpose; yet did not reckon upon what was past, but prest forward to the obtaining the prize for which he laboured. There is no stopping in this course till God call us from it by death. I would have you to propose no other example, but St Paul himself, and compare the progress you make to his. I am ashamed every time that I think of the course he ran, when I compare it with my own. I was consecrated on the day we celebrate his conversion, and proposed him to myself for a pattern. But God knows, how short the copy comes of the original." And, in this slight effusion of confidence, we have little hesitation in saying that, it is our belief, that the archbishop's character, and the conduct of his life, should find the key to its just understanding.

An incident, in itself unimportant, brings him to notice in the last months of his life,—an itinerant seller of prints. Of this person, the archbishop gives the following account. "There is one Williamson pretends to print mezzotinto pictures; he came to me and desired that I would admit him to make one for me. I desired to see some of his work; he told me he had only done two, one of Macheath, the varlet in the *Beggar's opera*; and the other for Polly Peachum. He showed me both of them, and I neither liked the pictures nor the originals; and conceived that if he had my picture he would show it with these. I did not think it convenient that my picture should appear in such company, and therefore, positively forbade him to attempt any such thing. Notwithstanding which, he has stolen a copy, and made a picture which he says is for me and shows it about. It is more like an ill-shaped lion's face than mine, and is a most frightful figure." In conclusion he requests of Mr Annesly, to have a copy taken in "*taille* done on mezzotinto, from one of his portraits, either from that in the possession of Sir Hans Sloane, or the Lord Carteret, or Mr A. himself, and an engraving made, from which 400 prints might be struck, and sent to himself. He gives the following directions for the inscription, "Gulielmus King, S. T. D., consecratus Episcopus Derensis, 25th Jan. 1690; translatus ad Archiepiscopatum Dubliniensem per literas patentes, Annæ reginæ undecimo, March, 1709." If you think fit you may put in my age, "Natus prima Maii, 1650." In a postscript, he mentions that the painter's name is Ralph Holland. On which, bishop Mant, from whose pages we have taken the foregoing extract, observes:—"The engraving, I suppose to be that which is mentioned in Bromley's catalogue of British portraits, as engraved by Faber in mezzotinto; if so, the blank left for the name of the painter may be supplied from the foregoing postscript." The bishop adds that the age mentioned by Bromley, as between seventy-nine and eighty-three, may also be fixed by the inscription;—as the archbishop having died in May, 1729, the difference between the two dates is seventy-nine years and seven days.

To the character of the archbishop, there are many testimonies; the

most eminent among which may be reckoned those of Swift and Harris. We shall here select that of Harris as being, by far, the most comprehensive and appropriate. As to Swift, we may confine ourselves to a remark of Mr Nichol's quoted by bishop Mant, as far more significant than anything the dean has written on the subject. "With no other correspondent are the extravagances of Swift's humour, and the virulence of his prejudices, half so much restrained as in his letters to archbishop King. He certainly feared or respected this prelate more than any other person with whom he corresponded." Swift feared no man—of this there are proofs enough—but the salient levity of his character stood rebuked before the real dignity and power of a mind which his discernment could not fail to perceive. Harris writes as follows:—"He appears in the tendency of his actions and endeavours, to have had the advancement of religion, virtue, and learning, entirely at heart; and may deservedly be enrolled amongst the greatest, and most universally accomplished, and learned prelates of the age. His capacity and spirit to govern the church were visible in his avowed enmity to pluralities and non-residence. In his strict and regular visitations, both annual, triennial, and parochial; in his constant duty of confirmation and preaching; and in the many excellent admonitions and charges he gave his clergy upon these occasions; in his pastoral care and diligence in admitting none into the sacred ministry, but persons well qualified for their learning and good morals, who were graduates regularly educated in the universities of England or Dublin; and who were, before their ordinations, publicly examined in the necessary points of divinity by him, his archdeacon and some of his chapter,—“he may be counted worthy of double honour, who thus not only ruled well, but laboured in the word and doctrine.” His hospitality was suitable to the dignity of his station and character, and the whole course of his conversation innocent, cheerful, and improving; for he lived in the constant practice of every Christian virtue and grace that could adorn a public or private life.”

The archbishop was buried in the church-yard of Donnybrook. He left, by his will, £400, for the purchase of glebes in his diocese. He left £500, in addition to the same sum formerly given to the university for the foundation of a lecture in divinity. He also left £150 to the poor of the city; and he bequeathed the library which he had purchased from Dr Hopkins, for the use of the gentlemen and clergy of Derry.

We have, lastly, to take some notice of the archbishop's writings. His historical work, we have already noticed sufficiently, and a memoir yet before us will demand some further remarks.

In 1702, he published his principal work, "An inquiry concerning the Origin of Evil;" and, in 1709, he preached a discourse on Predestination, which has since taken a higher place in public estimation than the more elaborate treatise. Of the latter of these we mean to take little notice here, on account of its having been so deeply entangled in popular controversies. But it is to be observed that if both were to be compared, the method used in the discourse indicates, with unusual force of evidence, the progress of an intellect like King's, in shaking off the illusions and embarrassments of a most per-

icious train of fallacies which, up to his day, had grown round and fettered all the movements of the human understanding. On this we shall be as full as our space admits: but, first, we must endeavour to give some brief account of the "Origin of Evil." As the course we mean to take requires that we should notice the errors, rather than the excellencies of this treatise, we ought to premise that these errors were the errors of the time, and as little subtract from King's reputation as those of the Ptolemaic system may be said to do from the astronomers of the third century. His merits are peculiarly his own; and we may venture to affirm that, through the whole inquiry, there is perceivable the underworking of a sagacity superior to the entanglements in which it lay involved. A sense of correcter views is ever struggling out; so that, indeed, his sense is frequently right, when the very language which he is compelled to use is adapted to present the seeming of error.

He commences with a most unprofitable inquiry, after the manner of the day, to ascertain the origin of our knowledge. In looking for the first cause, he considers it necessary to disprove the *self-existence* of anything else; and having easily enough come to this result, as to matter and motion, he proceeds to apply a similar argument to space. And his argument offers a fair example of the impotence of reason in dealing with such subjects. Falling into a common error with Clarke, he arrives at the opposite conclusion,—each of those two most acute and nice inquirers reasoning about space as if it were a substance invested with certain properties. King, however, avoids the tissue of subtle contradictions, into which Clarke is led by his purpose, which is to establish his notion of self-existence. The proof that space is non-existent is free from the same entanglement—though illusory still—for, speaking of it as a *substance*, it is easy to prove that it is none; and then, without looking further, it will seem to have been in every sense disproved.

Having disproved the original existence of all other things, and proved that some first cause must be assumed, he comes to the existence of God. In the proof of this, he proceeds with evident caution, though not without several unwarranted assumptions to modify the affirmation of a first cause with the attributes of unity, infinity, freedom, consciousness, and intelligence, until he arrives at the required conclusion. He then proceeds in the same chapter to show that the Deity acts for an end, and next he proceeds to the bolder task of defining this end to be the exercise of his power, and the communication of his goodness. The next proposition, that he made the world as well as it could be made by the highest power, wisdom and goodness, leads to the more immediate subject of the inquiry.

Having defined "evil" so as to include all imperfections, disorders, troubles, sufferings, and crimes, he proceeds to inquire how these should originate among the works of God as described in the last mentioned proposition. On the several arguments which he employs, and the varied and numerous topics which he introduces, we cannot directly enter; as a dry abstract of so long-drawn an inquiry could neither be useful nor interesting. We shall, at this point therefore, proceed to a summary review of the general character of the argu-

ment, and the methods employed by its author; for these methods are now of far more importance than any question so vague as the origin of evil.

And here we must commence with the expression of our deep and earnest conviction, that this entire class of speculations is not less pernicious than it is absurd. However harmless they may be in particular instances, they have still the unhappy effect of propagating a fallacious method, which is as ready and as conclusive for the worst, as for the best intended conclusions. We have already taken occasion* to comment on the argument of Clarke (on the Attributes); and the remarks we then made, we hold to be nearly as applicable here. Few improvements would be more desirable than a clear and strict convention, to limit all speculations to rigidly ascertained *data*. On the subject of King's book, we should object, not so much to his argument, as to the supposition that such arguments can actually account for anything. There appear to us to be two applications to which, if cautiously used, his argument might be usefully directed. Of both, the principle would, however, be this; that in a large class of cases, objections may be met by hypothetical reasonings; for instance, if it be affirmed, that any fact is inconsistent with the existence of some other fact, the reply that shows one or more ways in which they can be reconciled, completely destroys the force of the objection, though none of those ways may be the true way.

To illustrate these methods: for the first, we may *generalize* King's argument, cautiously abstaining from the pretension, that we can reach to any inference on the actual system of God's design, or the unrevealed motives of any portion of his acts. It may be said that, perhaps, the most perfect constitution of the whole universe of things, which could be framed, must inevitably comprise certain *disturbances*; such as (for example,) would arise from the agency of *opposite elements*, all *equally needful*. Thus, two results from the assumption of infinite perfection, may involve some third consequence, so inevitably, that to suppose the contrary would be a contradictory proposition; and this necessary consequence may be in the nature of evil. Now, if this consequence were to be denied, it could (from the nature of the argument,) only be met by showing the incompetence of reason to infer it; and this, by the very same application, at once destroys the ground for either side of the question, the one being in reality as much beyond our comprehension as the other. Thus then, the assumption is sufficient as a reply, though no further. Of the argument thus stated, we think however, no *special* applications could be safely made, further than that any evil that can be named, may in *some unknown way* be consequences of such a general fact.

The second method consists in using the only means within the scope of human reason, for the investigation of unknown things; the application of the laws of being derived from things known: this may be illusory, but *there is absolutely no other*. Like the former, it can be applied to meet objections, but no further. Observing this precaution, the known, or alleged acts or ordinances of God in the moral

* Life of Jeremy Taylor.

or physical order of the world, or in the express system of his revealed religion, may, in *special* instances, be vindicated upon the very same principle which becomes unauthorized when *generally* applied. The difference consists in this: that while we are entirely ignorant of the *whole* system of being, and can have no elementary notions of the universal economy of God's *whole* government; and, therefore, can affirm nothing about it on any ground whatever,—yet, of the portion which we actually know, we have the means of discerning numerous beneficial results from many disorders in the sensible portion of that order. Now there is a mistake in the confusion of these two arguments: a *species* of reasoning from the particular to the universal. The true argument is this: that although we have no *data* for the explanation of those apparent disorders, or of those evils, however defined, which we see and know; yet we are enabled to discern that they *are* the means of certain good which could not well exist without them. This is the entire extent to which human reason can proceed upon *real data*. We cannot *assume* or *deny*, the general proposition, that there might, in *rerum natura*, be a perfect system comprising all good, and excluding all evil. But, should any one assume such a proposition, we are at liberty to withhold our assent from the *assumption* as unascertained. We are further at liberty to prove that the *contrary* assumption, equally beyond our knowledge, is yet far more consistent with all we know, and with all strict reasoning on this analogy. To perceive the scope of the argument, with these modifications, is very easy.

It so happens, however it may be explained, that in the known scope of existence, there is no class of moral results, or even system of intellectual results, that does not to the fullest extent we can discover, mainly operate by an instrumentality, which so involves disorder or evil, that it could not be conceived to exist without them. We shall, for brevity, omit inferior considerations; but, so it is, that the primary springs of all human conduct are the main sources of moral disorder; so that when *fully* considered they will be found inseparable. The passions and desires which may be clearly detected, in working out the entire structure of social order, have every one of them at one point of development a good name and a useful end; a very little further on, the scale become vices, follies, or meannesses. To regulate the intensities of these, there are again two classes of agencies; one, the counteraction which one desire or infirmity opposes to the excess of another, in such a manner, that either being unchecked by the other must produce a certain amount of disorder. The other class consists of the very highest elements of human nature; such as come under the general name of *virtues*. Now, of these there are two things to be observed: first, that their entire field of exercise consists in the endurance and resistance of those evils which are mainly the workings of moral disorder. If there were, for example, no temptation to indulge a forbidden desire, the virtue by which it is to be resisted would lie unemployed—it might exist an abstract and inert creation; but contrary to the known rule that nothing is made in vain, it would be precisely as an eye without light, a useless and superfluous organ. Now these virtues, so far as mere philosophy can see, appear to con-

stitute the highest end of all the arrangements of social order; and it seems, therefore, so far evident, that their actual use, and their *habitual* development, depend on the existence of *certain causes of disorder*; for this is the extent of the argument.

Thus, in a twofold manner, the causes of disorder are inseparably involved in the apparent constitution of things. And, therefore, if we are at all at liberty to go higher up the universal series than our actual knowledge or means of knowledge can reach, we must either take this known condition for our guide, or wander into the vacuity of mere verbal reasoning.

It will not be objected to this method, that it goes but a very little way; in truth it goes too far, and is merely offered as the only way open to our limited reason. From the popular design of these memoirs, we think it necessary, however, to guard the careless reader against an error very liable to be suggested by the foregoing analogy. It is not, as may be at first imagined, incumbent upon us to show that the moral order of things could not be otherwise constituted. As it is *not* the argument that such an implication of disorder is inevitable, but that such is the only condition of things from which we have any actual *data* for the first notions on which an argument can be legitimately built. The physical world is a system of balances and counteractions; the moral world is the same—so is the known portion of the scheme of redemption. And, therefore, according to the known laws of human reason it may be suspected to contain the same general principle. And if we are to make an assumption, it is the only one that is legitimate.

We should, however, regret, to have it understood, that we attach any value to this, or, indeed, any other argument which can be applied to such baseless and unprofitable investigations. We have simply endeavoured to limit, and so far as we could, rectify, an argument, which has been variously stated and followed up by many able writers. It is not, nevertheless, to be hastily assumed, that a man like King would have rashly volunteered to throw out, for the first time, such a topic of interminable objection and controversy. The question has not only been a ceaseless theme in the schools of every age, but it has been the favourite resting-place of atheism; and in the first christian heresies, it became the fruitful source of error. The atheist inferred from the supposed prevalence of evil, that there was no God who rules the world; from the observed strife of good and evil, the Manichean inferred the existence of two great antagonist Gods of good and evil. The still impure philosophy of the middle ages involved these notions in the confusion of their interminable dialectics. The metaphysical writers of recent times received the tangled tissue of ancient controversies, and, by a severer logic, a terser language, and some feeble side gleams from the lamp of Newton, purified them from much of their vagueness and obscurity. But it yet remains to fulfil the end of a higher wisdom, by making manifest the one great truth which will expose the absurdity of all such questions: namely, the real limit beyond which human reason cannot go.

When this result shall happily have been reached, many unprofitable questions which have remained, as much the relics of scholastic

philosophy, as duelling is said to be of feudal chivalry—will drop into silence, simply because their entire absurdity will be manifest. Many words, which, as hitherto used, have no sense; some tenets which were held in opposition to worse, and which, being entangled in sacred truth, cannot yet be touched without offence, will be abandoned or rectified. Divines and philosophers will have wholly ceased to think that, by a baseless ladder of hard words, any truth can be attained, much less that anything can be found out which God has not revealed. When such an era of reason shall arise, divines will be fully aware of that which they so often and so strangely forget, that it is from divine revelation our knowledge of God is derived; and will not seek from the devices of human invention that which he hath not judged fit to make known.

Such devices are those terms of necessity, free will, foreknowledge, and other such words, which in the sleight of sophistry shift between colloquial meanings and the no-meanings of metaphysical theology. And we think it unfortunate, that King—who in another work has manifested so much of that power of clear and sagacious good sense which has enabled him to break from the jargon of schools, and leave the most masterly essay yet written on a difficult and impenetrable mystery, upon which this kind of fallacy has been most lavished—should have lent his sanction to such “oppositions of science, falsely so called.” In looking through his pages, to separate the argument from the vast warpings of vain and empty subtlety, we have frequently had to pause, from the difficulty of bringing home to our mind, how the sagacious understanding displayed in his correspondence could be entangled in these shallow obscurities; and seduced by a hope to discover or prove that which was plain enough, by resources, only available to conceal absurdity, and keep up controversy.

Still more blameable we must consider the inverse course by which things seen are attempted to be investigated from the things unseen. On this point we fear to express an opinion; because the error continues to cling to so many questions, and so many minds of far more wisdom than we can boast, that there is danger of offence in every sentence we should write, to those with the whole of whose practical opinions we would cordially agree.

Besides those tenets of the christian religion which are explicitly declared in the sacred writings, either as rules of conduct, or articles of faith; there are, it is known, occasional intimations which, while they manifestly appear to refer to some portion of the economy of redemption, cannot at the same time, when fully brought together, receive any explanation that will command the unanimous assent, even of those good and pious persons who cordially agree in their reception of the former class of truths. From these arise not only a great variety of sects, but a wide diversity of individual opinions, wherever there is left any freedom for such diversity. And in the wide scope of reasonings adopted, there are few, if any, modes of fallacy left unemployed. We shall here, however, confine ourselves to the one method connected with the design of these remarks. The humble-minded christian either takes the text in its literal sense, without looking further; or he compares scripture with scripture, for confirmation of the opi-

nion he has formed; or, if a little bolder, he interprets the plain revelations into accordance with the opinion he has framed concerning the more obscure; or he takes the opposite course; or, perhaps, concludes that there must be something that he cannot understand or does not know, which, if known and understood, might reconcile all. But the profound and subtle metaphysician has meanwhile found a shorter way: laying aside the comparison of texts, he reflects that there can be no difficulty whatever in the interpretation of any part of the divine economy, if he commences by a simple statement of the nature of God—having done this, the next step is to draw, as a direct and easy consequence, what his intentions must be, what he can do, and what he cannot do; and having thus glided down the golden chain of nature, design, necessary mode of proceeding and necessary consequences, in truth, human reason, employed in any way that has human meanings, is too small a thing to resist the conclusion. With the *conclusions* of this class of reasoners we do not quarrel here; it is the enormous rashness of the method which we are anxious to impress. On the nature of man, the ablest writers have come to no agreement: the casuists have not determined the foundations of what they have been pleased to consider as moral science: the intellectualists cannot agree on the nature of the mind; nor can it be said that in any one instance, any certainty upon such subjects has been attained. Yet God can be measured and fathomed, and the secrets of his councils, which angels vainly desire to look into, can be turned inside out with the metaphysical screw of one or two words. The peculiar power of this reasoning to silence objection, is really worth very attentive reflection: it may be very simply stated. Every attribute which is good, or seems to be a perfection, may be affirmed of God, and as it will appear impious to deny, and impossible to explain (what cannot be understood) away; the affirmant will be sure to be met to great disadvantage on such spurious grounds. In order to reply, his opponent must also have recourse to fallacy of some similar kind; for he must reason upon a hypothesis framed expressly to exclude the only reasonable ground, and is therefore entangled in the necessity of a nugatory method. Thus King, in the origin of evil, is in fact meeting real and imaginary objectors all through, on the ground of such assumptions. Such an assumption, for instance, is that of “infinite perfection,” which metaphysical writers have followed out into a circle of consequences so curious, as to make the being, so endowed, cease to be a voluntary agent in any way. It is sometimes, indeed, distressing, to find a reasoner like King endeavouring to reconcile evil with such an assumption. The just answer to such an objection is, that we cannot deny the “infinite perfection” of God; but we do deny the competence of human reason to entertain any true notion of such an attribute. With respect to any perfection attributed to God, we may admit, that if such a perfection have any meaning or existence, it may, and perhaps must belong, to the Supreme and All-possessing power; but we must deny, until the point can be actually ascertained and defined on experimental knowledge, that such an attribute can be taken for granted; and, still less, its consequences known. The attribute, which is purely *an invention of human reason*, may be altogether

a fancy: it may involve some self-destructive contradiction, and as such would not be admitted into any science within the real compass of our knowledge, so we cannot admit it beyond. It would much increase the clearness and evidence of this reasoning, could we conveniently bring forward and analyze several examples: but, besides the length to which we should thus be led, these unfortunate speculations have been applied, where they were least wanting, to doctrinal expositions of holy writ; and are consequently involved in many questions of popular division.* We cannot, though our present memoir includes the subject, enter on the supralapsarian controversy: but we might refer to Clark's demonstration, to which we have already offered some objections, or we might refer to the arguments of atheism, by which, from certain assumptions of the same kind, as to the perfect wisdom and goodness of God, it is proved that he cannot be the creator of the physical, or ruler of the moral world. Now, it would be well worth the while of any person, whose speculative powers have the rare excellence of being subject to discretion and common sense, to sit down to the deliberate investigation of the actual limit of man's acquaintance with the being of God. Of his vast power, there is abundant evidence in the physical world: his moral creation supplies some (but we should suppose,) partial and inadequate notions of his moral nature; the scriptures confirm a little, and add a little to these conceptions. The moral nature of man is in most respects so perceptibly adapted to his state of being, or so inconsistent with the state attributed to the Deity, (*in the same argument,*) that they must not only be very differently modified as attributes of God: but, in truth, may be so affected by an infinity of other attributes which have no earthly names, as, *upon the whole*, to constitute an entirely different being from the infinite *man* of metaphysics. But, looking to scripture for ideas, it is evident enough, that they are there limited by two very obvious conditions. First, by the real purpose of revelation, which was not to give us a full theoretic knowledge of the whole nature and *secret* counsels of Divine wisdom, goodness, and power; but to make us acquainted with certain facts requisite for our faith and conduct, such as our relation and duties to God, our actual state and destination. If an emperor were to give laws for the management of all the bees in his empire, we might as well imagine some bee of more than common ingenuity, discovering the whole policy and equity of his government, and from this the essential nature of his mind; as to assume, that we can by any efforts of human reason, supply the infinite defects in point of fact and first principle, which must affect our knowledge of God. And secondly, it is as evident, that our language cannot contain more than human knowledge: yet, in order to convey to our understanding those facts of our relations

* As some readers may imagine, that our opinions on a very popular tenet, may be actually inferred from the above discussion, we think it necessary to point out the fallacy of such a notion. We are simply objecting to a *method* of proof: on the inference we do not pronounce. Our rule is this, that *any doctrine* which can be legitimately inferred from scripture must be true, notwithstanding *any objections* of human reason. But we cannot allow that divine truth is to be either explained or supported by such miserable fallacies and inventions.

with an unconceived being and state of things, which are only to be spiritually understood, *human language* must be used as the only means consistent with being understood: hence the language descriptive of God, of his character and affections, is mostly *analogical*, or else in some way adapted to convey *equivalent* notions. We cannot, for example, suppose the Almighty (certainly not, *according to the hypothesis*), to see with eyes, hear with ears, or move with feet; nor to be the subject of those *involuntary* emotions, called anger, &c. Again, as in its allusions to the facts of physical nature, the language of holy writ is not conformed to those truths discovered by science, but to the appearances of things; so, it is probable, that the same principle of language affects every announcement of truths which belong to a state beyond our scope. Our knowledge of God, from whatever source it may be derived, is therefore too limited, and too indefinite to be made the subject of any reasonings of a *general* nature: our reason must not precede but *follow* from our facts, and only lead to *particular* conclusions. The nature of God, relatively to his declared appointments, is to be only known from his declarations, and cannot be made one of the premises in the investigation of their sense: this would be the fallacy of the *circle*.

We have transgressed our ordinary limits; because in perusing King's book, "On the Origin of Evil," we have recognised a large infusion of the vicious method here noticed, in that form which we think to be the most pernicious, that is, the admission of christian divines. We have often met, and lamented, the difficulty of replying to the flippant and shallow philosophy of atheism, from the effect of such assumptions or admissions, on the part of christian philosophers: the atheist could not be *fairly* met by the demolition of his unwarranted assumptions; because those assumptions had unwarily been made the basis of some doctrinal *demonstration*.

The error of this great and elaborate work, according to our estimation, consists chiefly in the abuse mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs. We can easily perceive the effort of a mind of the first order of sagacity and comprehension, struggling against the whelming torrent of fallacies which loaded the philosophy of his age, and which is yet far enough from being cleared away: for it pervades the very composition of thought and language. Clearly discerning the fallacies of the schools, he met them but too often by fallacies, to which he was constrained by the adoption of a common error, that of supposing it necessary to assume first principles in opposition to those of his adversaries, instead of following the simple course of refusing to grant such principles, and commencing within the scope of observation and analogy. This we have sufficiently traced out; but a few instances may be acceptable: as the idea of infinite and absolute perfection was supposed to involve (which, however, it does not,) a necessity of some one unvaried course of things, so as to determine the acts of the first mover, and destroy his liberty: so this absurd combination of senseless words was to be substituted by no simple rejection, but by the contraposition of another assumption equally unmeaning, though free from the impious consequence; thus King labours to establish that there is an agent, "who is pleased with objects simply because he chooses them."

Now here the reason and the result are either identical, or a first principle is suggested, (like the elephant on the back of the tortoise,) which leaves the matter as stated by his adversaries: for in either case, the question must return, as to the principle which has determined the divine choice or pleasure: and to such questions there is no rational end. It is, indeed, *by a confusion of ideas*, which we cannot stop to examine, that it has been assumed that perfection involves the notion of some *one only course*: or one only method of pursuing that course. On this little absurdity indeed hangs the entire chain of sophisms concerning liberty and necessity. This is, however, but one instance: we might in like manner take the other assumed attributes. But, indeed, it would be to write a book.

The length to which we have been led in our anxiety to give a general exposition of this most important class of errors, must here prevent any lengthened notice of another of the same kind respecting the principles of human action. We shall therefore pass this topic altogether, as we have some opinions which it would be rash to state without much explanation on the nature and definition of evil. On these points the community of poets and preachers, and moralists, and even of educated persons, have notions as clear and correct, as all the purposes and powers of human reason require or admit of. If there are any difficulties, they only affect the writings and speculations of that subtilizing class of thinkers, who, in their efforts to reach beyond the compass of the understanding, over-reach too often the province of all meaning, and, leaving known phenomena to look for causes and first principles, lose themselves insensibly in the deceptions of language.

It only remains to notice the archbishop's able discourse upon the subject of Predestination. We have already given our reasons for not entering into any review of its matter. But we ought to observe, that it indicates a clear and masterly view of many of the general errors, and causes of error noticed in the foregoing paragraphs. It has been republished in the works of archbishop Whately, who has introduced it with some comments to which we subscribe, as most just in reference to the general method of the reasoning: we here extract some sentences which may serve to render unnecessary any elaborate comment of our own. "Considering, indeed, not only, that the author was a person of no mean repute in his day, but that this very discourse attracted so much attention as to pass through at least six editions; and considering also that its subject is by no means one of temporary interest, and that it possesses the rare merit of being calculated for almost all descriptions of readers; one is disposed to wonder at its having so far sunk into oblivion, that a large majority probably of theological students, have never even heard of it. Yet it is calculated to afford useful hints even to the most learned divine—to furnish the younger student with principles which will form the best basis on which to build his whole system of theology—and to supply even the unlearned reader with the most valuable instruction, suited to a moderate capacity, on the most important points. But it is ill calculated to gratify those who are puffed up with the pride of human learning and ingenuity, and who delight to display their talents in controversy; for it tends in a most eminent degree to lower a presumptuous, and to soften a polemical, spirit; and

the pride and bitterness of the arrogant controversialist are too deeply fixed in the heart to let him afford a patient and candid hearing to a professed peacemaker. And this probably may account in a great measure, both for the obloquy to which the author was exposed at the time, and for this work being afterwards nearly forgotten."

Rev. John Richardson.

DIED CIRC. A. D. 1740.

IN the record of human affairs, but a small space is occupied by the remembrance of eminent worth or illustrious piety: much importance is, it is true, attached to the contentions and intrigues of sects, and the din of controversy, because it is man's nature to delight in strife and intellectual antagonism: the external history of ecclesiastical concerns, for this reason, too generally displays the characteristic effort of a being alienated from God and from all the truer ends of existence, to accommodate to his own dispositions, that faith which was designed to subdue and counteract them. In the deceits of the world, there is surely none so palpable as this one, by which every ordinance of God, and every revelation of his will, have been by a uniform process, in the course of a little time, worked round into a diametrical opposition to it. Of this the primal institution after the fall, the second renewal of divine light after the flood, the Mosaic dispensation, and that great first-ordained and last consummation on mount Calvary, are all perfect illustrations. And while divines contend, in adverse learning and skill, to trace or to conceal the varied courses of a uniform error, the philosophic historian must see the one necessary operation of a general law: the restless effort of every tendency of corrupt nature—"far gone from original righteousness"—to break free from the reluctant service, and to convert its undesired yoke into the golden chains of mammon. Hence it is, that in a world of transitory things, of deceits, mockeries, and sufferings, is to be seen the marvellous contradiction of a creature endowed with reason, acquainted with his Maker's will, and expectant of an immortal destination, yet all in all immersed in concerns of which he knows the vanity, and utterly forgetful of those of which he understands the awful value: thus it is, that in a world in which any one who might be ignorant of this actual state of things, would be likely to anticipate the solemn prevalence of one universal sense of godly sorrow or spiritual renovation,—in sad reality such a sense is scarcely to be traced by any outward indication of an unequivocal character: superstition hides it for gain, fanaticism clothes it in blood and the gall of bitterness, policy turns it into a resource of state: but in all, divested of its proper character, it is only by intervals, or in its creeds and constitutions that the essential intent of divine truth is testified. The christian world is concentrated in the market or exchange, in a grave absorption in trifles; the streets and roads are loud with interminable bustle, the true illustration of the passing world; while the country church, with its neglected path, remote from human ways, that overlooks the loud and

fleeting scene, may serve as a symbol of the importance attached to the truth of God.

These reflections have been strongly suggested to us after a perusal of the few and brief notices of the Rev. John Richardson, which are to be met with in the various memoirs and histories of his own generation. Notices, it is true, quite proportional to the actual intent of history, though not to the higher value in a truer balance and more enduring record, of the assiduous and praiseworthy labours of his exemplary life.

From the time of bishop Bedell, attempts had from time to time been made by several individuals, among the bishops and clergy, for the spiritual instruction of the Irish in their own tongue. And these efforts were blessed with considerable but entirely local success; for the best efforts of individuals can reach but a little way, when they are in opposition to the prevalent condition of society. They had, indeed, that degree of effect which was fully enough to ascertain, how complete must be the success of an effort upon a general scale, and supported by the influence and authority of government: for the Irish peasantry, yet unoccupied by strong political passions and prejudices, were only withheld by ignorance, and a total want of instruction, from the truth. So far from any manifestation of the earnest and bitter prejudices, which have since possessed them very nearly up to the present date, they manifested the most eager desire to hear, and much readiness to receive, the doctrines of scripture. Of this we can only afford some well-attested instances. About the year 1702, the Rev. Nicholas Browne engaged in the conversion of the people, and was everywhere attended by crowds, which joined in the prayers of the liturgy with so much devotion, that one of their own clergy in his endeavours to prevent them, told them that the Protestant church "had stolen these prayers from the Church of Rome," on which an old man in the crowd audibly remarked, "that if it was so, they had stolen the best, as thieves generally do." Of these, a large proportion came over to the church, and many of them declared that they had been kept in the dark hitherto, but that Mr Browne showed them the light, and said nothing but what was good, and what they understood. Mr Browne's labours were cut short by a premature death. The facts are fully authenticated by testimonies to be found in Mr Richardson's History.* On his deathbed, Mr Browne expressed his assurance, that if the convocation would take up the matter, and prevail on the Parliament to encourage the building of churches, and to provide for the establishment of preachers and schoolmasters in every diocese, the result would be productive of great success in a few years. Mr Browne's death occurred in 1708.

About the same time, this laborious undertaking was engaged in by the Rev. Walter Atkins, treasurer of the cathedral of Cloyne, and vicar of the parish of Middleton. Of his general labours some account may be found in Dr Mant's History:† we shall only select a characterizing instance. He had been supplied by the earl of Inchiquin, with a Book of Common Prayer, from which he used to perform the office

* See also Mant's History, II. 167.

† Ib. p. 167.

of burial, before large crowds of the peasantry, who "participated in the service with great devotion, and joined audibly with their voices in the Lord's Prayer, and in the previous responses: and on an occasion of a burial in the churchyard of the cathedral, one of them was heard to say, "That if they could have that service always, they would no more go to mass." In process of time his ministerial labours became so acceptable to the natives, that they of their own accord sent for him from all parts of his parish to baptize their children, to solemnize matrimony, to church their women, to visit their sick, and to bury their dead. These circumstances of Mr Atkin's ministry, conducted by him after this manner for several years, and continued at the time of his relation with success, were communicated by that clergyman himself to Mr Richardson.

In 1710, circumstances occurred which tend very much to favour such efforts as we have described. By refusing to take the oath of abjuration, most of the Romish clergy had incurred liabilities which amounted to a suspension of their functions. The people soon began to feel the want consequent upon such a condition of their clergy; and in the course of a little time were glad to have recourse to those of the English church. The effects were very considerable, and there arose among the people a very common expression of approbation of the prayers and services, and a great show of interest in the reading of the scriptures. Of this it is mentioned as an instance, that two middle aged men, actually learned to read, that they might themselves read the sacred writings.

From these beginnings the interest spread, subscriptions were made, and numbers of the Irish nobility and gentry joined in a representation to the duke of Ormonde, then lord-lieutenant, to desire his countenance and good offices; the duke referred it to the Irish bishops, who approved and referred it to the consideration of the convocation and parliament. A petition was also prepared and presented to queen Anne, who received it favourably. It is needless here to detail proceedings, which had no commensurate result: such undertakings as have the higher ends of religion for their aim will always be treated with ostensible respect by those who act in the public eye: it is when the preliminaries of formal respect are done, that they are shuffled aside in the long and tortuous labyrinth of party and official expedients and sideways.

Through this period, Mr Richardson, the historian of these efforts, a strenuous and effective labourer in the same service, was engaged in exertions of the most exemplary self-devotion, and unwearied toil for their success. He was patronized by the archbishop of Dublin, and in order to meet objections to the undertaking, wrote "A short history of the attempts to convert the popish natives of Ireland," of which 3000 copies were printed, by order of the Society for the promotion of Christian knowledge, of which he was a corresponding member: he also made repeated visits to London for the purpose of providing funds and obtaining support for the erection of charity schools; and subscriptions were opened at the Society's house, in Bartlett's buildings, and succeeded so far as to afford 6000 copies of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Church Catechism, with other translations of no

less utility for the same purpose. In the efforts which he made for this purpose, he is supposed to have received assistance from Swift, whose good offices were engaged by Archbishop King. He is two or three times alluded to by Swift, in his Journal, and his mission rather coldly and doubtfully mentioned. The archbishop, in a letter to Swift, states his opinion, that it was not desired very unanimously, that the native Irish should be converted. And this was, we cannot doubt, the main and only effectual obstacle to such a result. The protestant gentry of Ireland were then, as they have been since, far more zealous to act upon paltry and erroneous views of self-interest, than either for the welfare of the country, or the truths of religion. They saw, truly indeed, that a general conversion of the Irish would both add to the influence of the church, and that it would raise the people themselves to a condition of more real power (which is absolutely dependent on civilization,) by redeeming them from the tyranny of superstitions which bound them to the earth. But they did not see, that their own respectability must depend on that of the country, and that the value of their estates must sooner or later depend on the wealth of the community: they did not look to the consequence, now become so plain, that no country can advance to wealth, civilization, and civil liberty, with the gangrene of perpetual dissension in its bosom: and that the period must arrive when a dangerous inequality must be developed, between the popular power, and the popular civilization; for the one would flow in from the mere connexion with England, while the other would be dependent upon the dissemination and growth of the principles of truth and order. These things were not understood by a large and prevalent section of the Irish nobility and gentry, who were then willing to keep back the people lest their own church should be strengthened by their accession, as they have since shown themselves equally ready to oppress their own religion, by seconding undue and unconstitutional efforts, of which the pretence was to raise the condition of the people. In both cases have they been found warring against God, and in both the eventual record of history will be the mischief they have done, and the retribution they have suffered.

In our own times we are happy to say better prospects have in this respect arisen; not from the wisdom of parliament, or the care, patriotism, and piety, of the higher classes; but from the persevering energy of the church, the clear-headed sagacity of the Irish peasantry, and the blessing from above which never deserts the truth of God. Controversies of seemingly doubtful issue have had strange effects, even as yet imperfectly explained: the disputants for the papal creed adopted the dangerous artifice of comprehensive retractions and denials of the tenets which they found themselves unequal to defend: a retreat was covered by virtual concessions; but a people who had grown up at the feet of O'Connell were too sharp not to seize upon the consequences. A spirit of inquiry began; many falsities were rejected; the scriptures ceased to be the object of a superstitious prejudice; and at this moment, when there seems an authoritative and strong accession to the papal cause, popery is itself unconsciously losing its form, and stealing without recognition into the principles of the opposite side; so that there is no extravagance in surmising, that in the very season of triumph it will cease to exist.

To forward this desirable object should be now the main effort of every enlightened mind, of every protestant church. And happily no further obstruction is to be apprehended from either the ignorance of the peasantry, or the barrier presented by language. Nor are the people reluctant to hear, or slow to acknowledge, truths spoken in goodwill. But we must not be diverted further from our record.

The following letter from primate Boulter contains nearly all we have been able further to obtain of the life of this illustrious christian. It is written to the duke of Dorset.

"My Lord,

"The deanery of Duach or Kilmacduach, I know not which they call it, is now vacant by the death of Dr Northcote, worth about £120 or £140 per ann. I should be very much obliged to your Grace if you would be pleased to bestow it on Mr John Richardson, rector of Belturbet: he is a worthy person, and well affected to his majesty, and was many years ago concerned in a design to translate the Bible and Common Prayer into Irish, in order the better to bring about the conversion of the natives; but he met at that time with great opposition, not to say oppression here, instead of either thanks or assistance; and suffered the loss of several hundred pounds expended in printing the Common Prayer Book, and other necessary charges he was at in the undertaking.

"I should be very glad, I could contribute somewhat to make him a little easy in his circumstances, and procure him by your Grace's favour some dignity in the church.

"I am, my Lord, &c."

"DUBLIN, 3d Sept., 1730."

The duke of Dorset consented, and he obtained the deanery; a subsequent attempt to exchange it for the deanery of Kilmore, worth £300, a-year failed. A like effort to gain the appointment to be chaplain of a regiment, likewise failed from Mr Richardson's inability to raise a sum of money which it was customary to pay the colonel, on such appointments.

It appears from a passage in one of the primate's letters, that he contributed from his private means to Mr Richardson's maintenance.

Richardson was advanced in life at the period here alluded to, and the last notice we can find of him is in 1734. He is not likely to have long survived this period.

Charles Leslie.

DIED A. D. 1722.

CHARLES LESLIE was the second son of Dr John Leslie, bishop of Clogher. He received the first rudiments of his education at Eniskillen, and in 1664 entered the university of Dublin as a fellow-commoner. He continued his studies in the college until he obtained his degree of A.M. after the regular period. He was perhaps designed

for holy orders by the bishop; but in 1671, on his father's death, he resolved on the study of the law, which to one of his uncommon powers of reasoning, must have offered strong attractions. But like many who are led from their course by such an impulse, he changed his mind after a few years, and entered upon the study of theology. We may be wrong in explaining his change of purpose by a very common succession of motives, of which we could adduce many living instances. The practice of the bar has a charm for the youthful, at that period when expertness and ingenuity seem to be the most important and elevated capabilities of the intellect, and the youthful mind, deeply engaged in acquiring the methods and principles of reasoning, has not yet obtained an adequate notion of their proper aim and end. The bar alone retains the ancient character of a system of dialectic antagonism, and thus appears to offer a fair field for the prowess of the young logician. There is, however, a wide chasm of probation to be passed, of which the youthful aspirant has seldom formed any notion: but, during his attendances at Inns of court,—while forming a first acquaintance with the true principles, the practice, and the members of his intended profession—he begins to perceive that a long course of duller and drier studies must be passed, and years of less ambitious drudgery must elapse before he can acquire the enviable privilege of chopping chancery logic. In the mean time, if he may chance to have, like Charles Leslie, an intellect bent for the higher applications of reason in the broader and loftier field of philosophic research, and the investigation of truth, his reflecting powers will often be drawn aside by the many profound questions, doubts, and speculations, which are in numberless forms presenting themselves to every thinking person. And there is no one path of professional study so various or so wide in the range of truths it offers, or so fertile in true and satisfactory solutions, as that of the theologian. The real aim and end of human existence—the history and destinies of man—the true grounds of motive and obligation—the mingled web of good and evil in moral and physical nature—the foundation in fact and probability of all these, while they offered a grasp to the comprehensive intellect not to be found in any other pursuit; at the same time appear in a sounder, more simple, and satisfactory form, in the writings of our great English divines, than in the confused and contradictory speculations of mere philosophy. Indeed, there is a result which not unfrequently has occurred, when the bar was less educated than in the present day; and therefore liable to admit the taint of that infidel tone which is the frequent result of shallow ingenuity combined with ignorance: in a circle thus constituted, a scholar like Leslie, would be very likely to be thrown upon an anxious effort to recollect and keep in view the rational grounds of faith. Nor would it unfrequently occur, that he might be compelled to stand upon his defence and wield those powers, which were so happily displayed in his argument against the Deists, and which have made the world his debtor.

After nearly nine years spent in the study of law, he entered into holy orders in 1700, and in a few years more, was appointed chancellor of the cathedral church of Connor. About the same year, an occasion presented itself for the exercise of his controversial powers. The

bishop of Clogher having died, the see was filled by the appointment of a bishop of the Romish church, by James II. This bishop, whose name was Patrick Tyrrel, brought several well-trained disputants along with him, and at his visitation had recourse to the singularly indiscreet step of proclaiming a challenge to the Protestant clergy: these, on their part, were then, as ever, willing to maintain their profession, and Leslie accepted the challenge. Of the result we have no distinct record; but, at a second meeting for the same purpose, he met two very eminent persons selected for the occasion, in the church of Tynan in Armagh, before a very crowded assembly; and his success is more distinctly indicated by the fact, that Mr John Stewart, a gentleman of respectability, was so convinced that he renounced the papal creed.

In the same troubled period, when there was a confusion of public authorities occasioned by the efforts of James II. and his party, to substitute papists for protestants in every post of authority, an incident occurred which manifests the influence which Leslie's reputation had gained by his talent and probity. A sheriff of the papal faith was appointed in Monaghan: the gentry of the country took the alarm, and flocked to Leslie for advice. His advice was given; but they requested his personal attendance on the bench at the approaching sessions, as a justice of peace; and promised faithfully to support him. He had the gout, and was carried with much severe suffering to court. There, a question was put to the sheriff, "whether he was legally qualified:" he answered that "he was of the king's own religion, and that it was his majesty's will that he should be sheriff;" Leslie then told him "that they were not inquiring into his majesty's religion, but whether he had qualified himself according to law, for acting as a proper officer. That the law was the king's will, and nothing else was to be deemed such, &c.:"—on this, the sheriff was committed for intrusion and contempt, by the bench.

This spirited conduct is, indeed, the more creditable to Leslie, because it stands separated from all party feelings, as his known political prepossessions lay entirely in the opposite direction. Though like every person of honest heart, and sound understanding, he condemned the treacherous and unconstitutional proceedings of James; yet, on the other hand, he refused to recognise the extreme case which had arrived. Like a few other honest and able men, his mind submitted to a prejudice which had grown up in the hotbed of absolute power, and under the shade of despotic thrones maintained by papal power. The notion of an indefeasible divine right had not yet been assailed by the writers of the revolution. And while the plain common sense of the practical part of the nation followed the suggestions of an apparent necessity; some who, like Leslie, had been trained within the pale of theories and systems, sternly adhered to the lessons they had learned in their school of constitutional theory. This, in our opinion, is the true account of this seeming absurdity in a man of Leslie's profound understanding. And we cannot help considering it important for the purpose of reconciling the able understanding in controversies and questions, with the seeming inconsistencies and practical errors of this truly able and good man, to remind the reader of the differ-

ence which occasionally offers itself in experience between the precise and deep thinker, and the prudent and practical man of the world. The several qualifications of such persons are both common enough, perhaps in their separate perfection; but it does not very frequently happen that they are found together. A large development of the powers of external perception, and a profound expansion of the faculties which can familiarly move in the depths of abstraction, include some opposing habits, and perhaps conditions of the understanding. There is, thus, a simplicity in the philosopher which sometimes exposes him to be the dupe of shallow knaves; and that such was characteristic of this illustrious divine, there is much evidence in his life, and even some in his writings. Of the first, we shall presently offer specimens enough: of the latter, we may adduce in evidence some facts which we would fain dismiss before we proceed further. We mean his strange contradiction of the statements of archbishop King's well-known history of those troubles of which he was an honest and sagacious witness, and which, from their nature, and the prominent character of the events which they relate, admit of little mistake. Now, it must be observed, that the whole history of the archbishop, and all his letters and other writings, plainly manifest all the indications which can be sought for of sagacity and integrity. During the troubles in question, he was not only an intelligent and watchful actor, but he was also placed in a position the very best for observation. Any one, however able, may be liable to err in his public sentiments, or in his deductions of political consequences; but, it is only a fool who can be persuaded that he is in the very midst of a scene of outrage, oppression, and flagrant crime, where there is all the time little or no ground for it. The writers who would impute such folly cannot have considered the numerous absurdities which it involves; and they who would suspect the whole to be a mere party statement, either have not reflected on the high character of the writer, or must themselves think truth and falsehood matters of entire indifference. Again, to apply similar considerations to Leslie—he was not a witness,—he was a zealous partisan—his temper was pre-eminently controversial—and though a reasoner of unequalled power, he was far from possessing either the knowledge of Irish affairs, the observant sagacity, or the neutral spirit of Archbishop King. Thus modified by circumstances and natural temper, the several courses pursued by these two eminent men are to be compared. King, when he had adopted the principles of the most eminent whigs, the same which time has approved, pursued them without manifesting the slightest tendency to party; and when the revolution was confirmed, applied himself to his own official duties with an active and uncompromising zeal which gave offence to the government, who were disappointed to find no subserviency in one who had given them a constitutional support, and was as ready to offer a constitutional opposition. And such is the person who has been accused of publishing in the face of a million of adverse witnesses, a collection of the most outrageous and monstrous lies. Such a charge demands better authority than has been yet found.

Now, on the other hand, let us look again at Leslie's course of conduct.

Being infirm from disease, and obnoxious on account of his controversial achievements—on the first breaking out of the troubles, he retired with his family to England. There the contest being mainly one of political feeling, he entered, with zeal, into sympathy with the Jacobites; and, having adopted a mistaken principle of *irrespective* loyalty, he entered with all the spirit and ability of his character, into the controversy which was carried on by pamphlets on either side. His first Essay was the answer to King's statement; written, away from the scene, and without any authority whatever, but the strong and daring contradictions of angry and fugitive Jacobites,—the eye-witnesses whom he is said to have questioned. Of these, some were vindictive, some terrified; many careless of assertion, and willing to derive the importance attached to strong statements; and few had seen more than the local incidents connected with their own immediate apprehensions. Among these, the philosophic divine, honest and ready to trust in those with whom he had a common feeling, looked for information, and found such information as may now be found in rival newspapers.

Assuredly, it is not too much to say, that such a pamphlet as was written under such circumstances, and on such authority, would never be cited by any respectable historian, against the statements of King, which have all the authenticity of which history admits. And also, that confirmatory evidence which we have already explained in these pages;* that is to say, that which arises from a view of the *whole* history of the time, as well from the avowed designs as the express admissions of the parties. We must now revert to our history.

Though Leslie considered resistance to illegal proceedings, justifiable, it did not occur to him to follow out such an assumption to its extreme consequences; and, having refused to take the new oaths, he lost all his preferments. In 1689, he went with his family to live in England, where, as we have stated, he devoted his talents to the support of the cause which he conscientiously adopted; and there can be no doubt but, had that cause succeeded, his efforts must have found their reward. He quickly rose to such importance by this means, as to incur the suspicions of government, as well as to rise into high favour with the exiled court. It was soon observed that he made frequent visits to France, where he was received with distinction at St Germain. On the publication of a tract asserting the "Hereditary Right," he found himself an object of suspicion, and retired to Bar-le-duc, to the pretender's court, where he was received with distinction, and the favour which his zeal had earned.

While in the pretender's court, he is said to have exerted himself to convert him to the protestant faith. His influence was also proved by a permission to read the service of the church of England in the family. But the pretender never appeared on these occasions, though it is asserted that he promised to hear all that Leslie had to say upon the errors of the church of Rome,—a promise which he took care to break. Leslie's zeal seems to have been courageous, and perhaps impetuous—as it was thought necessary to prohibit controversy among

* Life of the Earl of Tyrconnel.

the members of the household. These particulars we have here thrown together more briefly than their interest would seem to require, as we are anxious to do this illustrious divine the justice of devoting the rest of the little space which can be allotted to his memoir, to the statement of his claims upon our gratitude. On his character as a Jacobite, we need enter no further than to observe that it was strictly a sacrifice to conscience, though (very naturally perhaps,) misrepresented in his own time by party. His conduct was one of those cases which has often occurred, and will often occur, and always be misrepresented: when a person, in the strictest adherence to *his own* political theory, must change sides in merely following out his principles, it is on such occasions forgotten that party is not necessarily consistent, and that—considering that it is seldom the creature of pure theory—its system of action may involve both opposite courses, and inconsistent principles. In Leslie's instance, it is true that this was not precisely the fact; his own theory contained the inconsistencies, but he was himself consistent in adhering to it. Bishop Burnet, who mentions him as a violent whig, who suddenly changed to the Jacobites,* does him great injustice. He resisted unconstitutional efforts to subvert the laws and the protestant church; but maintained the allegiance which he considered as having as binding a claim upon him.

In 1721, he came over to England, from the natural desire to "die at home at last." His character, well known as a formidable writer on the tory side, quickly exposed him to notice; the whigs were then in office, and lord Sunderland received an intimation of his being in the country. This, it is almost needless to say, was disregarded, and Leslie was allowed to return unmolested to Ireland. He did not long survive, having died in the following year at his own house of Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan.

Besides those political tracts which were so important in their day, Leslie left works of great and permanent interest, which entitle him to a high place in the first rank of theological writers. In the hurry and vicissitudes of a life of unusual agitation and trial, he not only sustained a prominent character in the struggles of his time; but also left two folios replete with sound and able views upon all the leading controversies of the age. He maintained the Christian religion against the Jew—the protestant creed against that of Rome—he proved the divine institution of baptism against the Quakers—vindicated episcopacy against presbyterians—the divinity of our Lord against the Socinian—and the truth of the gospel against the Deists.

As the most generally important, and least connected with any class of opinions to which respect need be preserved, we select the last for the exemplification of the writer's powers. We shall first, however, quote a few general sentences of just and characteristic praise. "The members of the church in general, not only of his own but of succeeding ages, have acknowledged the debt; and the works of Charles Leslie still continue to be held in esteem; not indeed for the allurements of an elaborate style, but for their soundness of argument—their perspicuity of reasoning—their earnestness of sentiment

* *Owen's Time*, vol. ii. 323.—Ed. Dub. 1734.

—and withal, their substantial support of the Christian verity.” Of Leslie’s argumentative powers in particular, Dr Johnson had formed a high estimate. Having on a certain occasion, as Boswell tells, spoken slightly of the reasoning of the nonjuring divines, and made objections to the several claims advanced in favour of William Law, of Jeremy Collier, of Kenn, of Kettlewell, in answer to the question, “What do you think of Leslie?” he said, “Charles Leslie, I had forgotten; Leslie was a reasoner, and a *reasoner who was not to be reasoned against*.”*

Of the argument against the Deist, an interesting history is given by its editor, Mr Jones, who received the particulars from Dr Delany, dean of Down, on the authority of Captain Leslie, the author’s son; this we shall give in Mr Jones’ own words. “It was the fortune of Mr Leslie to be acquainted with the duke of Leeds of that time; who observed to him, that although he was a believer of the Christian religion, he was not satisfied with the common methods of proving it: that the argument was long and complicated, so that some had neither leisure nor patience to follow it, and others were not able to comprehend it: that as it was the nature of all truth to be plain and simple, if Christianity were a truth, there must be some short way of showing it to be so, and he wished Mr Leslie would think of it. Such a hint to such a man, in the space of three days, produced a rough draught of the Short and Easy Method with the Deists, which he presented to the Duke, who looked it over, and then said, ‘I thought I was a Christian before, but I am sure of it now—and as I am sure of it now—and as I am indebted to you for converting me, I shall, henceforth, look upon you as my spiritual father!’ And he acted accordingly; for he never came into his company afterwards without asking his blessing. Such is the story, very nearly as Dr Delany would himself tell it, if he were now alive.”

The proof of christianity offers by far the most perfect exemplification of the laws of probable reasoning through their whole extent: being in fact the only case which is complete in all its parts. And thus it happens that there is no other event in history, which admits of being proved by so many distinct arguments; and there is no method of applying either the rules of evidence, or the laws of moral reasoning which cannot be used with the most conclusive result. The superior intellect of Leslie is manifested in discovering the concurrent force of certain main arguments, which had been always separately understood by christian apologists. This combination offers a proof of such surpassing force, that there is no direct answer but the one which denies certain data, which, being facts beyond the reach of denial, has not, and will not, be attempted by the deist, who has thereby been forced to evade the argument in a manner which has only served to leave a most curious test of its validity. To understand this interesting fact, Leslie’s proposition must be stated. It is briefly this, that certain conditions are fulfilled in the history and present state of christianity, which are entirely irreconcilable with falsehood. Mr Leslie’s method consists in the statement of four conditions “of truth in matters of fact

* Mant’s History, 11—39. See also Boswell, by Croker, viii. 287.

in general, such that when they all meet, such matters of fact cannot be false." He then shows that they all meet in the several histories of the Mosaic and of the christian religions.

The rules are:—"1st. That the matters of fact be such as that men's outward senses, their eyes and ears, may be judges of it. 2d. That it be done publicly in the face of the world. 3d. That not only public monuments be kept up in memory of it, but some outward actions be performed. 4th. That such monuments, and such actions or observances, be instituted, and do commence from the time that the matter of fact was done." As Mr Leslie's method is a brief method, it would be impossible for us here to give a summary of the admirable statements and illustrations by which he applies these four rules. But as numerous readers may not from our statement see the *whole* force of the argument, on account of the *separate* insufficiency of the rules, it may not be amiss briefly to point out the connexion.

The first guards against the witnesses being deceived by any kind of sleight; the second, against their imposing on the public by a false story; the third secures the most authentic species of evidence to after times; and the fourth prevents the possibility of this evidence being spurious. Now the peculiarity of this combination is, that any three of these rules might be fulfilled consistently with *some* form of imposture, either at the time, or after, while the four amount to a clear and demonstrative exclusion of all the possibilities of falsehood. This is indeed at first sight so apparent to any practised reasoner, that we have always been inclined to feel some doubt on the story of the celebrated deist, Middleton, who is mentioned on very good authority to have for twenty years vainly exercised ingenuity of no inferior order, to find a case of undoubted imposture which would satisfy the four conditions.* He might assuredly have as well endeavoured to find a rectilinear triangle having the sum of its angles not equal to 180°. For if there are conclusive proofs that the witnesses of a fact were not deceived themselves, and could not have deceived others, there could have been no deception. The general proposition is an absolute demonstration, not dependent on the nature of the facts, but on the most strict assumptions that reason could propose as tests of evidence.

To this severe test, Leslie next proceeds in circumstantial detail to apply the evidences of the two great scriptural dispensations. This little volume we most earnestly recommend to the perusal of all our readers of every class. For those, whose faith is inclined to be unsteady, it will do as much as can be hoped for from mere human reason. For those who are confirmed, it will arm them with the most convenient and ready weapons against that infidel spirit which exists, and must exist, while human nature continues in its present state of sinful alienation; for, infidelity, quite unfounded in the legitimate use of reason, is but the development of the carnal temper of the heart—"deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked,—who shall know it?"

This one of Leslie's admirable tracts may serve as a specimen of

* "This," writes Mr Jones, "I learned from Dr Berkeley, son to the celebrated bishop of Cloyne." *Preface to Leslie's Short Method*, 1799.

the others: all of which evince the same clear and unencumbered vigour of intellectual power, though, from the nature of their subjects, they have not all the same interest at the present time.

Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick's.

BORN A. D. 1667—DIED A. D. 1745.

THE great celebrity of Swift has long given an efficient stimulus to the labours of the biographer. The details which have been collected respecting the early history of his family, are of themselves sufficient to occupy a considerable portion of the full and elaborate volume which has been left us by the greatest writer of modern times, and would be nearly sufficient to fill half of the space which our contracted and still lessening limits can afford even to Swift. We must endeavour therefore to pass briefly through the mass of deeply interesting statements which may be found in a volume generally circulated. In this, indeed, were there no stronger reasons, we are sanctioned by the fact, that Scott has referred those details of family history to an appendix. The memoir composed by Sir Walter, like all his maturer works, is such as to silence any future competition, save that of presumption, which nothing can silence; and having looked through several memoirs, we shall here adopt it as our text and main authority as to facts,—an announcement which may save the necessity of any references which are not made essential by some special reason. But it is also a duty to apprise our readers, that our respected authority is in no instance responsible for any *opinions* or *general views* which we may be led to express in the course of this memoir, unless when specially referred to. Through the whole of these memoirs, we have most guardedly abstained from the unacknowledged adoption of the smallest notion to which any writer could have claim; and in our perusal of the various memoirs of Swift, we have seen ample grounds for such abstinence.

The family of Swift had for some generations been settled in Yorkshire. The family pedigree begins so far back as 1569, in which his ancestor, in the fifth remove, is mentioned to have been "collated to the territory of St Andrew Canterbury." The grandson of this person, Thomas Swift, vicar of Goodrich, left several sons, of whom one, whose name was Jonathan, married Abigail Erick of Leicester, by whom he left a son and daughter. The son, also named Jonathan, was the well-known person of whose life we are to give an account. In a short memoir which he has left of his family history, Swift mentions some very interesting particulars of his grandfather's life. Having lived in the time of Charles I., he experienced his share of the troublesome adventures of that calamitous interval,—having been repeatedly plundered by the parliamentary soldiers. The house in which he lived remains, or (at least till recently) remained in the possession of his descendants. A note upon Swift's narrative mentions that there is still shown a secret vault under the kitchen, in which the family concealed their provisions from the plunderers. The anecdotes of his escapes, and of his courage and loyalty, are curious and romantic.

On his death, his son Jonathan came to Ireland, where he is related to have obtained some employments and agencies. But the most authentic fact seems to be his nomination in 1665, as steward to the Society of King's Inns, Dublin.

In April, 1667, he died, leaving one daughter, and his wife was soon after (November 30th), delivered of a son, who is the subject of our history. This event occurred in No. 7, Hoey's lane, a small house, on which Scott remarks:—"The antiquity of its appearance seems to indicate the truth of this tradition." His mother's condition was not such as to afford more than the most cheap and coarse subsistence, as she is said to have obtained the expenses of her husband's funeral from the bounty of the Society: this account is indeed materially qualified by some statements in counsellor Duhigg's history of the King's Inns in Dublin, from which it would seem that the Society was considerably in her debt, and not very prompt to pay. There can still be no doubt of the poverty of her condition. She was however enabled to commit her infant to the care of a nurse, who seems to have contracted a warm attachment to her charge: this was exhibited in an eccentric and decisive step, which would induce a suspicion that Swift was indebted for some principal traits of his disposition to his nurse. The story is not without interest. It runs that this woman, having been a native of Whitehaven, was recalled by some relation, perhaps (if this part of the statement has any foundation,) her husband, and not wishing to part with the child, she carried him off clandestinely, and for a considerable time no trace could be obtained of them. We are inclined to think, that one capable of courses at the same time so decisive and inconsiderate, was little likely to have been induced by any duty to leave a good nursing, and that this strange woman had balanced the discomforts of her situation against a natural instinct, and provided for both by one bold act: the reason given is evidently that which afterwards would adopt to excuse an indiscretion, or perhaps to conceal the poor circumstances of Mrs Swift. When the nurse was traced, the family considered the delicacy of the infant, which it was feared might not well bear the risk of a second passage across the channel, and taking into account the strong attachment of the nurse, it was thought fit to leave him in her care. He continued thus in Whitehaven for three years, during which his health improved, and his mind was not neglected; when he was brought back to Dublin he could spell. At five years of age, he could read any chapter of the Bible.

The circumstances of his mother were, as we have stated, in a state approaching destitution, and she was compelled to look to his family for the means of rearing and educating her two children. Of the brothers of her husband, William Swift showed active kindness and sympathy; and Godwin Swift, whose means are supposed to have been more affluent, contributed chiefly to their maintenance.

Godwin Swift was the elder brother of Swift's father; he had studied the law, and having been called to the bar, was by the duke of Ormonde appointed attorney-general to the palatinate of Tipperary. His success had induced the removal to Ireland of three of his brothers, William, Adam, and Swift's father. Godwin acquired considerable wealth, and might have laid a respectable foundation for the fortunes of his house,

had he not given way to a speculating disposition, and sunk his resources upon projects which ended in nothing but loss. To this Scott attributes Swift's great dislike to projects of every kind; adverting very probably to the part he took in relation to Wood's project. The actual embarrassments of Godwin Swift, are indeed important here, as tending to explain the narrowness of his contributions to the family of his brother's widow. His nephew, who appears not to have been, till a later period of his life, fully aware of the circumstances, is known to have always entertained angry recollections upon the supposed parsimony of his uncle; and though he became afterwards acquainted with the truth, that necessity alone had stinted the kindness of this relative, the impression never lost its hold of his tenacious mind. The native and deep-seated pride, which occupied so large a place in his temper, began at an early period of his youth to feel and be embittered by the painful sense of dependence; and it is indeed hard to conceive a position more galling than that dependence, which, at the same time that it lowers and oppresses a proud temper, is inadequate to the purposes for the sake of which it is borne. It is not difficult to conceive that Mr Godwin Swift may have from time to time compensated for the deficiencies of his liberality by advice which was not approved, or by some assumption of authority not acquiesced in. It is indeed easier to give advice than to bestow that careful and comprehensive reflection upon the difficulties or the interests of friends and relations, which is yet ever found essential by persons of sense to the conduct of their own affairs; and in circumstances of dependence there are few things more offensive, than such counsel as seems to carry with it the stamp of neglect or slight, while it is enforced by a claim of authority. And it is not unlikely that Mr Godwin Swift, who does not seem to have had any superfluity of wisdom in the management of his own concerns, may have shown this ordinary propensity by interfering vexatiously upon the education, breeding, or destination, of his sensitive or irritable nephew. In after years, when Swift was dean of St Patrick's, he is said to have been accosted at a visitation dinner by Dr Whittingham with the question, "Pray, Mr Dean, was it not your uncle Godwin who educated you?" When the question had been reiterated with great rudeness of manner, the dean answered abruptly, "Yes, he gave me the education of a dog."* Yet, after all, to judge from the prominent facts, his uncle acted at least efficiently: at six he was sent to Kilkenny school, and as Mr Godwin Swift was upon terms of friendship with the duke of Ormonde, who had been his patron, and was the patron of this eminent school, it is to be conjectured that it was by this connexion that a provision so important was obtained. At the Kilkenny school, we are told by Scott, his name cut upon the form is yet shown. He remained there until his fourteenth year, and then entered as a pensioner under Mr St George Ashe, in the university of Dublin. His name was entered on the books of the senior lecturer, 24th April, 1682. At the same time his cousin, Thomas Swift, son of an uncle of

* Scott gives the anecdote of which the above is a part, upon the authority of Theophilus Swift.

the same name, also entered; and this coincidence has embarrassed the researches of learned antiquarians, who have found no small difficulties in the archives of the buttry, and other collegiate accompts and documents, in their endeavours to allocate correctly the several honours of the cousins, and to trace the incidents of their academical career. Of these discussions, the ample scope of Sir Walter's volume, with the help of a full and valuable appendix, offers an ample abundance. We are here reluctantly compelled to make a brief selection.

Of men, so eminent as Swift, there is ever a restless curiosity to obtain the early history; to trace by what steps they attained those powers, which are only to be fully known in the conduct or works of their maturer years, and to see in their first indications the peculiarities of spirit, temper, and taste, which, to the reflecting observer of human nature, are objects of profound and earnest study. Of this class of interesting detail the records are few, but strongly characteristic, and full of important suggestion. It is generally admitted by his biographers, and stated also by himself, that he did not apply himself to the studies prosecuted in the university; yet it is also as satisfactorily known, that at an early age he had made a remarkable proficiency in many of the most useful branches of general literature. His neglect of his studies has been by himself attributed to the depression caused by ill-treatment from his friends, and by poverty. That these, whether real or imaginary, were likely to produce depression of spirits, and to exasperate the haughtiness of a spirit like Swift's, is highly conceivable: they might also in some cases destroy exertion, but assuredly not in the ambitious, fervent and indefatigable breast of Swift. In looking back over the long interval of past years, the memory generally fails to trace with any precision the firm and slender chain of impulses and impressions which have given the conduct its main directions; unless the analysis of the past is made with more exertion than appears to be shown in the few pages of summary and incomplete memoir which he has left of himself. When this was written, he was probably at a loss to discover by what carelessness or distaste he had failed to obtain those distinctions, of which he may have thought himself capable. Now, while the reason he gives is quite inapplicable, there are several which are but too frequently productive of the same effect on the conduct of persons of Swift's general cast of mind. It sometimes occurs, though we should say rarely, that there is a positive incapacity for the conception of any kind of *abstract reasoning*, to be observed in persons of exceedingly keen observation and quick perception;—it is often met among the most highly gifted women. This is not however the case of Swift: but it is known, that for speculative inquiry he had some distaste, perhaps not much capacity. But there is not unfrequently acquired a strong determination of the intellectual powers, towards some large field of practical observation, which exercises the whole mind, and gives a strong predominance to the moral propensities and tastes. This, while it calls into action high capacities, has also the effect of sometimes generating a dislike for those technical studies and applications, which while they exact labour, do not in the outset indicate the real character of their remoter practical

applications: thus, the rudiments of logic, as then taught, by no means convey the fact, that they exhibit the very elements of the reasoning process itself;* neither do Euclid and Algebra convey the remotest glance of the magnificent fields of reality which they are instrumental to explore. To taste the standard excellencies of the ancient poets, orators, and historians, is the result of laborious attainment: at school they are little more than "grammar, and nonsense, and larning," as sung by Squire Lumpkin in Goldsmith's comedy; and in the university they are but the "morning lecture," not very attractive to the youth who had just felicitated himself on his escape from the schoolmaster. Now all this was, and ever must remain, common enough. A little of the idleness which wit, frolic, and the associates they draw round them, must, in Swift's case, be taken into account: his overflow of temper, and passion for practical jests, were ruling spirits of the hour, and he was surrounded by too much congenial sport and juvenile wantonness of temper, to want constant impulse. His very ambition would impel him to be the first among his laughing associates. The same ambition, with the haughtiness of his mind, would lead him to resent the academic distinctions for which he was remiss to labour, and which were appropriated to attainments of which he did not see the value. Such are among the most prominent characteristic bents of the same class of minds to which Swift is to be referred. In the distinctions of human character, there is no marked line; and considerable allowances are to be made in the application of moral classifications. Among those who have pursued collegiate attainments with the highest success, it is not unlikely that every character of mind may be found: some are urged by the mere love of intellectual effort; some indifferent to the science, read for honour only; some sit down with nobler views and more highly pitched aspirings. We cannot conceive Milton less than the first logician, astronomer, and classic of his year; but it must be allowed, that it oftenest happens, that a hard and cold intellect will be found adequate to the ordinary standard of attainment, in the mere acquisition of trains of fact and reasoning, without a glimmer of any of those faculties which are to be recognised in the humblest walk of invention. Such persons are frequently observed to display an incapacity to appreciate those powers which seem to be wanting in their intellectual constitution; and thus, by a natural mistake, measuring themselves by the conventional standard of the class-rooms, entertain and display a sense of superiority, which, of itself, is enough to awaken the scornful indignation of an ill-regulated temper, bursting with the consciousness of high and comprehensive powers. Thus, indeed, the university may, in one sense, have been a school for the powers and dispositions which give their genuine form and tone to all Swift's life and writings. To these remarks, derived from a full and favourable experience, we shall add Sir Walter's statement:—"When Swift was entered at the university, the usual studies of the period were required of him; and of these, some were very ill suited to his genius. Logic,

* Archbishop Whateley has set this truth in the clearest light. Whateley's *Logic*, Introduction, and Book i.

then deemed a principal object of learning, was in vain presented to his notice; for his disposition altogether rejected the learned sophistries of Smiglecius, Keckermannus, Burgersdicius, and other ponderous worthies, now hardly known by name; nor could his tutor ever persuade him to read three pages in one of them, though some acquaintance with the commentators of Aristotle was absolutely necessary at passing examination for his degrees. Neither did he pay regular attention to other studies more congenial to his disposition. He read and studied rather for amusement, and to divert melancholy reflections, than with the zeal of acquiring knowledge. But his reading, however desultory, must have been varied and extensive, since he is said to have already drawn a rough sketch of the Tale of a Tub, which he communicated to his companion, Mr Waryng. We must conclude, then, that a mere idler of the 17th century might acquire, in his hours of careless and irregular reading, a degree of knowledge which would startle a severe student of the present age." In point of fact, Swift was not a *mere* idler: negligent of the studies which presented themselves in the shape of duties, and at best could place him on a level with youths whose understandings he scorned, he perused with keen and even ambitious assiduity volumes more adapted to his own peculiar tastes, and more generally appreciated by the vulgar. His keen sagacity early saw its proper sphere, and looked with longing up the broad and crowded highroad of worldly advancement. He knew that little wit could be exercised on the properties of lines and numbers, and that the "solar walk, or milky way," was not the way to preferment or popularity. Though a student in the university, his eye looked abroad with youthful desire upon the pleasures, whims, and humours; the collisions, intrigues, and busy play of the world; and so he eagerly fed his tastes, his hopes, and aspirations, with the elements of his chosen pursuits. Indeed, an acquaintance with the youth of all universities would sufficiently illustrate and confirm all these remarks—that is, to a certain extent, for in our own times, a change has come over the public tastes—great discoveries, and a splendid combination of the scientific genius and tastes of Europe, have enlarged, exalted, and illumed the sphere of science; and ambition itself may be won to seek honour and advantage in studies no longer circumscribed within the narrow range of parroted "deducibles," which were accumulated like conundrums, and led to nothing. It may, indeed, be here not inappropriately observed, with a feeling of national exultation, that in every time, from the beginning to the present moment, our university has been the prolific birth-place of the ablest and most powerful minds in every walk—learning, wit, research, argument, and scientific genius; that in each phase of public change, it has thrown out a race of giants—so great, yet so differing in glory—Usher, Swift, Berkeley, Young, Goldsmith, Burke, O'Brien, Wall, Anster, Maculagh, and the numerous names of the several classes they represent.

Among the habits, at this time acquired by Swift, may be numbered that remarkable closeness in matters of expense which will be observed showing itself through every period of his after-years. The bitterness of his temper was now roused, and kept in continual play by the lowness of his finances. The death of his elder uncle, Godwin, ap-

peared to cast a momentary prospect of total destitution; but another uncle, not richer, but more gracious in temper, and of more attractive manners, stepped into the gap,—this was Dryden William Swift, whose kind, but still scanty contributions were gratefully acknowledged by Swift through life. He was also very much assisted in the same interval by one of his cousins, who was settled as a Lisbon merchant. The incident, related on his own authority, is curious enough. "Sitting one day in his chamber, absolutely penniless, he saw a seaman in the court below, who seemed inquiring for the apartment of one of the students. It occurred to Swift that this man might bring a message from his cousin Willoughby, then settled as a Lisbon merchant, and the thought scarcely had crossed his mind when the door opened, and the stranger approaching him, produced a large leathern purse of silver coin, and poured the contents before him as a present from his cousin. Swift, in his ecstasy, offered the bearer a part of his treasure, which the honest sailor generously declined; and from that moment, Swift, who had so deeply experienced the miseries of indigence, resolved so to manage his scanty income, as never again to be reduced to extremity."

In conformity with this prudent temper, it might be inferred from the statements of his biographer, that, notwithstanding his real dislike for the course of studies then pursued in the university, and his affected defiance of its authorities, there appears evidence enough upon the college books that he had still "wit in his anger," and took due care to keep within the letter of the law. But many of these entries on the university books, which have been traced by the learning of Dr Barrett, are such as rather to manifest the truth of the statement, that he was even unusually endowed with a perverse and refractory dislike to authorities; for his liabilities in that respect are far greater than was consistent with a prudent and saving temper. These records are important here, so far as they serve to rectify the mis-statements of some of his contemporaries. It has been believed, on the authority of Mr Richardson, that he had been expelled from the university, and, that having obtained a "*discessit*," he got his degree at Oxford. The occasion of this severity is thus mentioned by Mr Richardson, "Dr Swift made as great a progress in his learning at the university of Dublin, in his youth, as any of his contemporaries, but was so very ill-natured and troublesome, that he was made *terra filius*, on purpose to have a pretence to expel him." This singular absurdity, equally unjust to both parties supposed to be concerned, is clearly refuted by the facts: Swift was not expelled, was not *terra filius*, and obtained his degree from the university. It is only here necessary to refer to the proofs which can be found in Dr Barrett's Essay, in the most satisfactory form of Extracts from the College Books.

From these authentic documents it has been ascertained, that *after* he had commenced A. B., he was *admonished* for notorious neglect of duties, and for frequenting the town; and that he was almost continually under some punishment. We also learn that he was prominent in a small knot of the most dissolute and turbulent youths in the university, among whom he is thus enumerated in one of these records, "*Constat vero* Dom. Webb, Dom. Sergeant, Dom. Swift, Maynard,

Spencer et Fisher, huic legi contravenisse, tam seditioes sive dissensiones domesticas excitando, quam juniorem decamem, ejusque monita contemnendo, eundemque minacibus verbis, contemptus et contumaciæ plenis lacessendo, unde gravissimis pœnis commentum sunt, &c." For these causes the sentence follows, of a suspension of the culprits from every degree: it then proceeds to pronounce, that as Swift and Sergeant had been more insufferable than the others, they were condemned to ask pardon on their knees of the junior dean. This humiliation, amply merited as it was, left a lasting impression on the proud heart of Swift, who, from that moment regarded the university with all the bitterness of his implacable spirit. This was, nevertheless, the utmost extent of his punishment. The public pardon effaced the breach of discipline, and the certificate of his degree, yet extant, plainly contradicts the erroneous statement of Mr Richardson on this head. The point of most difficulty has been seized on by a correspondent of Scott's, from whom he gives an extract, in which it is stated that Swift obtained his degree a year before the usual time, and infers, that this must have been by *special favour*. The inference might be allowed to have some weight; but the fact is so entirely inconsistent with the institutions and precise discipline of the university, and so irreconcilable with all that is known of Swift's academical character, that it cannot be admitted without the most authentic proof. On looking at the document given by Scott in his appendix, the cause of the mistake appears. Swift's entrance is stated to have been in April, 1682; the college certificate fixes his degree in February, 1685; and the interval would thus be less than three years. But any one who is accustomed to the method of dating, then in use, must be aware that the *first months* of 1686, would have been reckoned into what is now considered as the previous year. This fact reduces the difficulty to one of small weight, as we have only to assume, that Swift was allowed to go on with the class of 1682, the year in which he entered, and this we believe to be an occasional practice conformable with the rules of the university: the sizar, who enters at a more advanced period of the year, is expected to fulfil this condition, and it may be optional with the other classes of students. That this degree had been obtained, *speciali gratia*, is stated on the authority of Swift himself, and accompanied by explanations, which leave no doubt as to the nature of the distinction: the ambiguity of the term has occasioned some laughable anecdotes, perhaps invented by the dean himself: certain it is, that he mentions himself as having obtained his degree in this disreputable manner, more near to special charity than to special favour, and signifying a grace vouchsafed for no merit. The circumstance of this fact, not appearing on the testimonium, has been thought to throw some doubt upon the statement, but in fact such a disqualifying testimony as would make the certificate unavailing for any use but to attain the reputation of the bearer, is not in any case stated.

The story of the *Tripes* is equally discredited, as Dr Barrett proves it to have been actually delivered by a Mr Jones, three years after Swift's graduation; but at the same time concludes, that it was the composition of Swift. His reasons for this supposition are the characteristic vein of humour and severity which run through this composi-

tion; the direction of some of the personalities against those whom Swift disliked, and the intimacy which subsisted between Jones and him. But granting that the inference might be correct, these premises are rather overstated: neither the wit nor the malice is sufficient, or so directed as to bear out its force: the humour is nothing beyond that of the most ordinary pleasantry and ridicule, or than the merest effort to be pointed, and such as the excitement of bog-latin and burlesque would suggest to one not absolutely dull. At the same time, we think that the actual inferiority of the composition cannot absolutely be regarded as having conclusive weight in the opposite scale. Every voluminous writer affords specimens enough of the inequalities of genius; and though it may be risking something to say it, we can find effusions of Swift's not more bright than the *Tripes*; of which it is however to be allowed that its indecorum and scurrility offer more legitimate signs of the ascribed paternity than its wit. It is, indeed, not unlikely, that the person who was selected for the office of buffoon to the pageant must have had some pretension to the necessary qualifications: Swift's companion was not likely to be wanting in either humour or ribaldry; but indeed the intimacy is not satisfactorily ascertained, and the MS. is said to exhibit no marks of Swift's writing.

From the protracted residence of Swift, the same correspondent infers that he must have obtained the scholarship. We see no reason to admit the inference. The university was the most economical residence for a poor young man, who at the time had no other home, and most convenient for both the purposes of study and companionship. His mother had for some time returned to Leicestershire, and the town was then comparatively incommodious, unquiet, and ill-appointed in its streets, houses, and civil order. It is not many years since we were acquainted with many of considerable standing, within the walls of the university, where there is no law to prevent a graduate from residing while his name is on the books. The notion that Swift could *refuse* to submit to the sentence of the board, is inconsistent with the strictness of collegiate discipline; he may have been *let off*, yet we cannot see any ground for the supposition. We have, indeed, given too much space to questions of such trivial importance; but must add, that even this is negatived by the vindictive animosity with which he afterwards assails Dr Owen Lloyd, who was the junior dean, to whom he was compelled to apologize. Such a supposition would, therefore, reflect as little credit on Swift as on the board. After all, it would be easy enough to reconcile the whole of this relation with the affirmation that he had obtained the scholarship, were it not for the decisive consideration that this cannot have been, without some distinct record of the fact.

As it is our wish to set the character of Swift in a true light, and, as we proceed, to divest it of the extreme inconsistencies with which the reader of the various historians of his time must be occasionally perplexed, we have endeavoured to present in a fuller compass than the scale of the memoir would otherwise demand, those incidents which we have thought most illustrative. And we must now ere turning to another distinct train of incidents, endeavour to sum the inferences, and trace their general relation to the after years of his life,

and the formation of his character. Those circumstances which awaken the passions, or exercise the dispositions of the youth, give its tone and internal spring to the temper, and its prepossessions to the mind, in maturer years—when ripened judgment—the discipline of experience—the constraints of social intercourse—and the mature sense of self-interest, and other like causes impose disguise and self-suppression, and give force and effect to those prudential and moral motives which tend to mark and, in some degree, equalize the characters of worldly men. Hence, between the recklessness of the boy, and the acquired independence of the reverend senior, there is a considerable interval in which any attempt to refer the whole of a man's courses, and actions, to any elementary definition of his character is altogether absurd. To assume the lofty patriotism, the unswerving integrity, the elevated virtue and generosity, as the features of the picture, on the evidence of one class of facts, or to draw a portrait of all that is repulsive and degrading on the evidence of another class equally ascertained, is the common method of the party writer, and the effect of not regarding the common laws of human nature, nor tracing the first formation of unusual dispositions of character. Man is not only the creature of habit, but of habit early acquired; and the earliest action of circumstance upon the temper and judgment is more imperative than the desultory schooling of precepts, and the imperfect vigilance of discipline. A course of years, darkened in their progress by all the successive modifications of annoyance, which a proud and quick spirit cannot fail to discover in a situation of entire dependence, had inevitably the effect of rousing, exercising, and fixing into habits the acrimony, the susceptibility of insult, the rancorous hate, and "study of revenge," which are the accessories which wounded pride never fails to collect about itself. When too long subject to humiliation, the proud youth will arm himself with scorn, and find exaltation in the disparagement of mankind: and in the history of Swift, these elements will often enough be seen like a sulphureous ore, glaring out upon the loftier heights, and mingling with the growth of better soil. We are as little partial as our reader can be, to the intrusion of moral dissertations, but we cannot end these most necessary reflections, without further statement, of a leading principle to which we must often have occasion to refer, as the key of many passages in this memoir. A course of virtuous deeds, while it may be attributed by some to its ostensible motives, is frequently traced by others to some baser origin; hence, the unqualified extremes with which biography is so often disgraced. Now, the fact which meets this error is this, that in the mixed impulses of our nature, there is place for both; the primary impulse is often evil, the secondary good—and *vice versa*. When an angry man finds a course of good essential to his revenge, that course will not fail to exercise good feelings as he proceeds. And in a course of good deeds, it is hard to keep down the suggestions of inferior motives; as charity may be flattered into ostentation, or pulpit eloquence into personal vanity, so may the disappointed partisan be fired into patriotism, and the misanthropic spirit be enlightened with humanity.

In 1688, when the wars were breaking out in Ireland, and immedi-

ately after meeting with a galling humiliation in the university, Swift resolved on a removal to England: he had no prospect of advancement where he was, and both the university and the country which had been to him the scene of every misery and degradation, were hateful in his eyes. England, the birth-place of his family, the seat of honourable recollections, and of those associations which his pride loved best, presented to his thoughts the way to elevation; and the success of those talents of which he had a proud consciousness. Under these consoling impressions, he went to reside with his mother in Leicester-shire. She was related to the lady of Sir William Temple, whose family had been acquainted with that of the Swifts; and Thomas Swift had resided there as chaplain. It was, therefore, soon suggested to Swift by his mother to apply for patronage to Sir William. He took this advice, and was retained in the family as amanuensis, at £20 a-year.

Sir W. Temple, though possessed of a small income, and without ostensible power, was one of the few most deservedly respected persons of his day. He had attained the respect of Europe by the rare combination of honest integrity and candour with efficient ability, in the character of a diplomatist. He was no less conspicuous for the excellence of his writings, both in style and matter, on a variety of useful and interesting topics; and his essays are yet read for their graceful ease and perspicuous style, as well as for the pithy vigour of the maxims and reflections which are scattered through them.* In the course of his political employments, he had formed an intimacy with the prince of Orange, whose good opinion and confidence he had gained, and this was now become a circumstance likely to increase his influence as a patron. Lady Temple was not less to be loved, admired, and respected than her husband; and though kept by her duties, and a wise spirit, within the private sphere of wife and mother, had in a pre-eminent degree those talents for which far inferior persons have been named illustrious, and was looked up to with wonder and admiration by many competent observers who knew her in private life.

It would not be easy to conceive a concurrence of circumstances more favourable to the prospects of a person of Swift's conspicuous talents. But it is worth while for any young person of high endowments, who has to encounter the same upward struggle, to reflect well upon the natural infirmities, which even in the most favourable cases of this nature, may be found most likely to interpose. In Swift's peculiar case they present themselves in the aggravated form of disease. Still flushed with the fever of long resentment, and shaken with the convulsive pangs of a great and recent shock to his pride, he entered upon a new scene with a fiery and irritable sense of wounded self-importance, and a fiercely strung spirit of self-assertion. Every man, who, with the consciousness of inward power, has had to force his way out of obscurity, and to be hourly affronted by the pretensions of exalted inferiority, will at once feel the force of this impression; to convey it to those who have not, would be difficult: yet most persons can comprehend the sense of wounded pride; and pride was, perhaps, the master spirit of

* His *Essays* have been republished in Sharpe's Collection of the British prose writers in 1821.

Swift's nature. As yet undisciplined by the keen pursuit of self-interest, and unchecked by that opposite species of self-importance, which can be derived from a flattering sense of influence with superiors, he could not so far restrain the salient impulses of his temper as to maintain that quiet and unpresuming deportment which the great have a just right to expect from those who serve them in any inferior capacity. In such unequal alliances there is mostly imposed a self-suppression which would impart an apparent inferiority to the most commanding genius. Such a disadvantage will be lessened in proportion to the real intellectual eminence of the patron: it is not likely that the mature understanding of a man like Temple would hedge itself in adventitious dignity. His superior sagacity must have early discerned the mind of Swift, and Swift must have been conciliated and won by the dignified amenity of his manner, and the attractive wisdom of his conversation. But it can be inferred, with a force approaching to certainty, that among the household, he would find enough of food for the morbid growth of harsher feelings: he must have been taught to feel and to imagine daily slights, and have conducted himself so as to excite dislikes and resentments. These facts have no actual record, but there is something very nearly approaching to it in a letter quoted by Scott. The writer's informant was a nephew of Sir William's, Mr Temple, (brother to lord Palmerston.) Among other things, he mentioned that Sir William "never favoured him (Swift) with his conversation because of his ill qualities, nor allowed him to sit down at table with him." The "outlines of this unfavourable statement are probably true," adds Sir Walter, "if restricted to the earlier part of Swift's residence at Moor park;" he, however, observes, "that the enmity which was known to subsist between him and all the descendants of Sir William, may account for Mr Temple's placing his conduct in a disreputable light." Partly, we admit; but this enmity is itself in some measure illustrative of the point of view in which we have been placing his condition at Moor park. A great and good man like Temple would sooner or later discern and do justice to the character of one whose infirmities are so counterbalanced by great qualities; his pretensions, at first unestablished, would gradually come to be admitted by the wise and discerning. But the vulgar, the dull, and the small-spirited, will not see or allow, save through the eye of the world; and to these the superiority of one whom their little pride desires to look down upon, is an injury for which after success of the most splendid kind cannot atone. There is, however, enough of ascertained incident in the life of Swift to give a colour of reality to the statements of Mr Temple. As Scott remarks, "The polished statesman, and polite scholar, was probably, for a time, unreconciled to the irritable habits, and imperfect learning of his new inmate." But Swift, with all his irritable pride, and undisciplined frankness of spirit, was himself eminently observant and sagacious; he was also prudent: his impulses, too, were all on the side of virtue and generosity; so that, upon the whole, there must have been a balance of kindness and good-will in his favour. This must also have been much increased by the sobriety and steadiness of his conduct. He had cast away the besetting errors of his youth, and was preparing for his part on the stage of life. It is probable, that from the conversa-

tion of Temple, he received a strong impulse to self-improvement, and at this time he entered upon an assiduous course of study, to which he devoted eight hours a-day. This severity of application was injurious to his health. He had also become subject to an attack in the head and stomach, which was first brought on by a surfeit of fruit, and which never ceased to return at intervals, through his whole life. To this he traces much of his subsequent ill-health. In the relation of this fact, Scott cites and argues very conclusively against the opinion of Dr Beddoes, who derives much of Swift's conduct and ailments from the assumption that his constitution was exhausted by habits of profligate indulgence in the earlier part of his career, when he is known to have led an idle and irregular life, and kept dissipated company. We shall not here enter on an argument which we think decided by Sir Walter; and it must be involved in the observations, to which some part of his history must necessarily conduct us. We think it only essential here to remark, that in Swift, the intellectual faculties, together with those virtues and infirmities which are called moral, were so developed and predominant, that his animal nature was (as it were,) diverted and overruled by mental excitements and by impulses which were in constant and excessive operation. For good or evil, in wisdom, or folly, in him mind was always prevalent,—a first principle, to which we shall refer much of his life.

After two years' residence at Moor park, his health gave way to the labour of his studies; and he paid a visit to Ireland in the hope of deriving some benefit from his native air. He was, however, disappointed in this hope, and after a short absence, returned. He had in the previous interval won upon the esteem of his patron, who must have begun to derive the pleasure which always arises from the intercourse of talent and knowledge; and probably missed him in his absence. He was received with marks of regard, and now rapidly grew in the favour and confidence of Sir William.

At this time, the king was frequently a visitor at Moor park, to confer privately with Temple, on the conduct of his affairs. It is mentioned, that Swift was allowed to be present at the confidential interviews which took place; and, as Sir William was frequently confined with the gout, he was deputed to entertain the king. Such a fact unequivocally marks the sense of his merits entertained by Temple; and there is also reason to infer, that the sagacious monarch was pleased with his conversation. He offered him a troop of horse, and taught him how to cut asparagus in the Dutch way. He also seems to have given him, either by precept, or example, a lesson in the way to eat the same vegetable, which Swift retained through life and sometimes inflicted upon his guests whom he compelled to eat the stalks of their asparagus, with the assurance, "Ay, Sir! king William always ate the stalks!"*

More suitable hopes were at the same time held out. A letter to his uncle William, 29th November, 1692, mentions, "I am not to take orders until the king gives me a prebend." The promise must be inferred, we think; and the hope was more fully warranted by circumstances

* This occurred to George Faulkner, the bookseller, who told the story to Dr Leland.

immediately ensuing : a bill for triennial parliaments was at the time in warm agitation, and Swift was commissioned by Sir William, to state to the king his reasons in favour of that measure: he is said to have added new force to the views of his employer. The king was not persuaded. Swift was thus for the first time introduced upon that scene which was so peculiarly the object of all his tastes. This first trial was neither auspicious nor flattering; and like most persons who do not succeed, he moralized sensibly, and said it had helped to cure him of vanity.

In 1692, he went to Oxford, to apply for his master's degree, to which he was admitted 5th July, having been admitted *ad eundem* in Hart's hall upon the 14th of the previous month. He was received with much courtesy in this university. The natural and obvious effect was a bitter comparison to the disadvantage of his own college—upon which Sir Walter has observed, that "the favour of Oxford necessarily implies genius and learning"—a remark of which we cannot question the justice, but which we would rather not meet in connexion with an unfair comparison. This favour was experienced by Sir Walter himself, and the fact is no less honourable to Oxford than to its illustrious object; but it is a duty to truth to affirm that for the comprehensive scope of its learning—the distinguished men which have proceeded from it—the eminence of its professors and fellows, under most enormous disadvantages;—and above all, the consistency and soundness of its religious and political principles, the university of Dublin will not be named second to Oxford. Swift neglected to call to mind under what very different circumstances his pretensions appeared in either of these two seats of learning. It would have been unfair to tell him that he was most favourably appreciated where he was least known, because he had undoubtedly undergone a great and favourable change: but it would be absurd to assume, that riotous and offensive disregard for the laws, authorities, and studies of his college, were to secure favour, and be received as the indications of genius and learning.

He had already entered upon that course of discipline to which literature has been indebted for some of the most masterly models of style. In 1691, he informed his friend Mr Rendal, that he "had written, burned, and written again, upon all manner of subjects, more than perhaps any man in England." His first ascertained essay in verse, was a translation from the odes of Horace, of which the versification is easy and idiomatic, without being inornate or slovenly, and there are several turns of his own characteristic habits of thought. He also made attempts of a kind which mark that he had not yet fully attained the knowledge of his own genius, which was assuredly little tinged with poetry: these were Pindaric odes, "the only kind of writing," observes Scott, "which he seriously attempted, without attaining excellence." The attempt is said to have been pressed upon him by Sir W. and lady Temple: on showing his odes to Dryden, they elicited the just and pithy sentence, "Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet!" We should, however, here say, that these verses display far more poetical power than any one would anticipate from the perusal of those witty and spirited doggrels, for which he is best known as a poet.

It is far more important to the right comprehension of Swift's character, to dwell for a moment upon the resentment which he never ceased to cherish against Dryden for the foregoing comment. As it marks a peculiarity frequently explanatory of his conduct, we think it worth while extracting some remarks of Mr D'Israeli, which Scott gives in a note:—"The enraged wit, after he had reached the maturity of his own admirable judgment, and must have been well aware of the truth of the friendly prediction, could never forgive it. He has indulged the utmost licentiousness of personal rancour; he places Dryden by the side of the lowest of poets; he even puns miserably on his name to degrade him as the *emptiest* of writers; and for that spirited translation of Virgil, which was admired even by Pope, he employs the most grotesque sarcastic images to mark his diminutive genius—for this version-maker is so lost in Virgil, that he is like the lady in a lobster; a mouse under a canopy of state; a shrivelled beau within the penthouse of a full-bottomed periwig." He never was generous enough to contradict his opinion, and persisted to the last." We trust it is not necessary to do more than say that we imbody this stricture in our text from no wish to depreciate the character, which many able pens have toiled to draw in the most softened or favourable aspect. But a portraiture is nothing if not true, and this vindictive tenacity of ill-will, which never could forget or forgive the injury of wounded pride, is absolutely essential to be well weighed by any one who would have a thorough feeling of the character indicated in many of the most important passages of Swift's life.

But it ought to be observed, that Swift's genius, which at this time was soon to be made known, was itself, to a great extent, a development of the "*splendida bilis*," the pride, scorn, and bitterness, of his aspiring and most haughty temper; to which his keen sagacity and vast powers of intellectual apprehension were, with all their prominence, but tributaries. It would be a deep injustice not to add to these reflections, that pride has its virtues as well as its infirmities, and these too we shall have to trace with no illiberal hand. A poem, written by him, on the illness of Sir William Temple, displays much of the characteristic of a fiery spirit turning on every side to break from obscurity, and impatient of those obstacles which poverty must for a time at least throw in his way. Addressing his muse, he tells her—

"To thee I owe that fatal bent of mind,
Still to unhappy restless thought inclined
To thee, what oft I vainly strove to hide
The scorn of fools; by fools mistook for pride."

The fools, if such was really their opinion, were assuredly not very far from having made a lucky hit; and such is the common sophistry of pride; a defence which inadvertently admits the charge; for scorn implies the sense of superiority, and the want of charity. The same lines unfold, and we think with truth, a more favourable glance into the interior of the author's mind:—

"Stoop not to interest, flattery, or deceit;
Nor with hired thoughts be thy devotion paid;

Learn to disdain their mercenary aid,
 Be that thy sure defence—thy brazen wall—
 Know no base action; at no guilt look pale;
 And since unhappy distance thus denies
 To expose thy soul, clad in this poor disguise,
 Since thy few ill-presented graces seem
 To breed contempt where thou hast hoped esteem."

These last lines are considered by Scott, to allude to the coldness of Sir W. Temple, and a disagreement which had begun to interrupt their growing cordiality. Nothing is more likely. But we should also notice the just and lofty expression of the high and independent tone of the author's spirit—and of that nobler direction of pride which spurns at baseness. We must also observe, that it is impossible not to feel the impatient sense which pervades the last lines of that lowering constraint of mind, which we have already described as incidental to his situation at Moor park.

He conceived, however, that he had reason to complain; Sir William appeared too dilatory in providing for him, and this he attributed to a selfish desire to retain his assistance. Temple, with at least equal injustice, considered his impatience as a proof of ingratitude. He offered him an office worth £100 a-year, in the Rolls court in Ireland, of which he was master. The reply of Swift is a very striking display of the independence of his character, and the strictness of his adherence to his own rule of rectitude. Such an offer, he observed, might be pleaded against the charge of entering the church from mercenary motives; and he would at once proceed to Ireland, to enter upon holy orders. We give him credit for the higher motive; but the keen innuendo is too much in the satyrists' style to be quite inadvertent. And Temple felt the biting reproof. They separated in anger.

Swift came over; and, on applying for ordination to the bishops, found himself involved in a difficulty, of all others most galling, to a spirit like his. Orders could not be obtained without a recommendation from Sir W. Temple.

He took five months to digest the gall of this humiliating exigency. The case was, nevertheless, urgent, and at length he obtained the hardest of all conquests, and wrote a most humble letter, remarkable for the admission which it clearly implies, of indiscretions of temper, which must have to some extent justified the coldness of Temple. It was found afterwards endorsed, "Swift's penitential letter," in the writing of lady Temple, an injustice, if there had not existed grounds for penitence in his previous conduct. Scott remarks, however, upon it, "It is a painful circumstance to reflect how much the haughty mind of Swift must have been bent, ere he could humble himself to solicit an attestation of good conduct, from a patron so selfish and cold-hearted, as in this instance, Sir W. Temple unfortunately approved himself." We must confess we do not quite agree with this charge. Knowing well the general worthlessness of that most illusory of all expectations which looks to the friendship of a patron,—upon whom there can be none but the very lowest claim of mere dependence;—yet when this little claim is enfeebled by any deficiency in that species of homage, which is in general all the dependent has to

give, it must be regarded as slight indeed. Sir Walter could not divest himself of the strong sympathy which he is known to have felt with genius, and had before him the mature reputation of Swift; but to Sir W. Temple, he was but a very clever young man, of great indiscretion, whom he employed for his own service, and had pledged himself to promote. After a period of service, not more than adequate to its remuneration, and after meeting with much offence and vexation, which a common amanuensis would not have been allowed to offer a second time; Swift's offensive impatience was met with an offer of £100 a year—all that his patron is likely to have had in his gift. This error is a common one, and therefore worthy of the notice we have given it: those who rely on the patronage of the great are numerous; they are seldom persons who know anything of the world, and very apt not only to form unreasonable, but absurd expectations.

If Sir W. Temple had retained any feelings of offence, he was appeased by this letter; and, in a few days after its date, Swift received an answer so satisfactory, that all his obstacles were removed. He obtained deacon's orders in October, 1694, and those of priesthood in the following January. It is also inferred, that he must have also received from Sir William some recommendation to lord Capel, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland; for, immediately after, he was presented with the parish of Kilroot, in the diocese of Connor. Of his residence in this place, there is nothing known of sufficient importance to detain our narrative. The insipidity of such a retreat for an ambitious temper, long nurtured on prospects and expectations, and accustomed to the intercourse of literature, can be fully appreciated. Sir W. Temple had, it is thought, in the mean time, felt the want of the literary associate who could appreciate his conversation and writings. It is, indeed, not unlikely, that he had in view the arrangement for posthumous publication which he after effected in his will. He wrote to invite Swift's return, in terms which held out a more favourable position in the family than he had formerly held. Swift was happy to seize upon the invitation, and again returned to Moor park.

It may here be mentioned, that his residence at Kilroot was made the ground of a scandalous story, in the highest degree improbable in itself, and subsequently ascertained to have had an origin in the insanity of the narrator: and to have received a doubtful corroboration from the coincidence of the initials of some names. It is unnecessary to repeat it. We also hold ourselves absolved from a romantic story, which, though far more characteristic of Swift, is too unauthentic to be taken without many doubts, and at best, much alteration. Its purport is, that Swift generously divested himself of his living in favour of a poor clergyman with a large family. Mr Mason has disproved those particulars which give all its character to the narration. But, it is by no means improbable, that Swift, finding the very evident expediency of giving up this very small preferment, after he had tried his ground and felt it secure at Moor park, actually made a generous exertion to obtain it for one whose merit and poverty, and perhaps some personal civility, may have been a recommendation. Every one knows from what small incidents a story can be blown out into an imposing compass. Certain it is, that Swift did not resign Kilroot until he had

been some time at Moor park, which he must have quitted to retain it.

At Moor park he was no longer a retainer, but a confidential friend,—a change which operated favourably on his entire relation with the family. He was no longer under the hourly necessity of vindicating pretensions incompatible with his position; and the native frankness of his manner came with a less inappropriate character from the guest and humble friend, than from the hired amanuensis. Owing to this *seemingly* slight distinction, his entire position at Moor park was altered, and he continued on terms of the utmost kindness with Temple, till the death of the latter deprived him of the most truly worthy of his great protectors.

It was during this interval that he formed an acquaintance of which the history is strangely interwoven through his life. Among the inmates at Moor Park, there was a Mrs Johnson with her two daughters, of whom one, Esther, seems to have been the general favourite of the family, on account of her beauty and promising disposition. They all felt strong interest in her education; and Swift himself, induced by a species of attraction to which he was in a peculiar manner liable, soon became the instructor of her mind; and, we should feel inclined to say, won her childish affections by those engaging attentions of which no man was more the master. Such romances occur but as episodes in the life of a spirit so restless, excitable and engrossed as Swift's, and rather serve to amuse and feed the natural cravings of vanity and fondness, than to fix and fill the heart. More alive to sentiment than to passion, and like all the proud and susceptible, dependent on that tenderness and wholeness of devotion which women only can give, he could, without calculating consequences, win an affection which, while it solaced his restlessness, and gratified his pride and tenderness, might involve the peace of its unhappy object. This is one of the crimes commonly attributed to the most unfeeling selfishness. We should be very sorry to say a word in its favour; but truth compels us to say, it frequently indicates a want of thought; though it *may*, and too often does arise from the most detestable want of every principle of humanity and honour. But, in Swift's case, this growing attachment was untainted by any design, and had assumed no form; it was no more than the innocent, but perilous tenderness which is rendered doubly insidious by the high and pure feeling which it develops and exercises in its growth. It was, as we have said, an episode, and it appears that at the very time Swift was actually engaged in a treaty more serious in its objects. The history of this may throw some light on after events.

Miss Waryng was the sister to a person who had been Swift's chum (or chamber-fellow), in college. He had formed an attachment to her, with less reserve than would have been consistent with the coldness and circumspection, as well as the prudence and peculiar tastes, of a later period of his life. He had not as yet contracted unfavourable impressions with regard to matrimony, nor a temper ill suited with its reciprocity and mutual indulgence. At the age in which the mind is always most accessible to female influence, he was desirous to please, to make strong impressions, and to appropriate

But he had not yet attained the caution and forecast necessary for the attainment of these gratifying objects without becoming himself subject to the influences with which he thus played: nor had he yet drawn those false distinctions which can satisfy the conscience of one who trifles with affections. Under such very common circumstances, either the impulse of affection, or the entanglement of a sense of honour, or reluctance to disappoint expectation, or the over-sight of an indiscreet moment, must have inevitably arisen to impel a declaration. Whether actuated by one or all of these motives, it is certain that he proposed marriage. Miss Waryng seems to have returned his affection, but to have demurred on the grounds of ill health and prudence. It appears that her medical adviser had represented marriage as likely to prove dangerous to her life; and she also objected to the smallness of the income they should have,—her own fortune being stated by Swift himself to be about £100 a-year, while his was, perhaps, about the same. Two of his letters to this lady are published in his *Epistolary Correspondence*; and some written at the same time to other persons contain allusions more or less applicable to the same subject. They strongly confirm the view which we have taken; and when considered together, they seem to offer a strong case of an inexperienced youth, hurried from a friendship of a very usual nature, by the urgency of friends, and perhaps by the dexterity of female diplomacy, into a proposal which he could not well avoid. When once engaged, his mind was naturally won over to the tie which he had thus contracted, and his pride, as well as his restlessness, made him desire to hasten a course in which he was embarked. His urgency was, however, such as rather to make manifest a temper of this kind, than the earnestness of his affections: and more directed by a wish to conquer an obstacle and win a consent, than to gain a wife. He was, nevertheless, in earnest, and had no design of retracting from an engagement, of which the accomplishment still seemed as a matter of course.

Long before this incident, he had written a letter to the Rev. Mr Kendal,* in which he affords a strong clue to the inferences here arrived at; and we must therefore extract some sentences from it, selected for their very significant expression of the writer's complexion in this respect. He speaks in this letter of his "cold temper, and unconfined humour:" of marrying, he says, "The very ordinary observations I made with going half a mile beyond the university, have taught me experience enough not to think of marriage till I settle my fortune in the world, which I am sure will not be in some years. And even then itself, I am so hard to please, that I suppose I shall put it off to the other world." Having given some description of the exceeding restlessness of his spirits, which, as lord Berkeley had remarked to him, "was like a confined spirit, that would do mischief if I did not give it employment; he adds,—it is this humour which makes me so busy when I am in company, to turn all that way; and since it commonly ends in talk, whether it be love or common conversation, it is all alike. This is so common that I could remember twenty women in my life, to whom I have behaved myself just the same way, without any other design

* Vicar of Thornton, in Leicestershire.

than that of entertaining myself when I am very idle; or when something goes amiss in my affairs." After several further remarks of this nature, he turns to assure his friend, that he is not very liable to be seduced into the kind of engagement then suspected by his mother; and adds,—“and truly if you knew how metaphysical I am that way, you would little fear that I would, &c.” We only quote so far as is required by our purpose to elucidate the combination of physical coldness with ambition, sentiment, and excessive animal spirits. For in this may be seen the clue to all that otherwise appears least explicable in the conduct of his amours. An excessive readiness to follow, and to raise the excitement of a sentiment, led him on until he had reached the natural terminus of such dispositions: objections and demurs arising from different tendencies then came into play. To these, we shall hereafter advert.

It is now to be considered, that till Miss Waryng had been led on so far as to give a full sanction to his addresses, Swift had acted the part of a strenuous suitor, while his natural love of conquest over the affections led him on to solicit; but, when the point for which his inclinations tended was actually obtained, and his possession of the inclinations appeared to him complete, he then, perhaps, to his own surprise (for it is experience that shows man to himself), found that he had been striving for a toy which he did not care to possess. The interest of pursuit was over, and his “free humour” recoiled at the sight of a tie. But Miss Waryng was by this time placed in a different position, so commonly and thoroughly recognised in society as to require no comment: it had become her interest to preserve the tie of an engagement which is generally an obstacle to any other; and to Swift it was necessary to break this tie by address, not force.

The means were not inexpertly chosen. Having till then combated her fear and prudence, he now addressed himself to affront her pride: assuming a tone which seemed to place her in the position of one soliciting his reluctant consent, he asks her, “Are you in a condition to manage domestic affairs, with an income of less (perhaps) than three hundred pounds a-year? Have you such an inclination to my person and humour, as to comply with my desires, and way of living, and endeavour to make us both as happy as you can? Will you be ready to engage in those methods I shall direct for the improvement of your mind, so as to make us entertaining company for each other, without being miserable when we are neither visiting nor visited? Can you bend your love, and esteem, and indifference, to others, the same way as I do mine? Shall I have so much power in your heart, or you so much government of your passions, as to grow in good humour upon my approach, though provoked by a ——? Have you so much good-nature as to endeavour by soft words to smooth any rugged humour occasioned by the cross accidents of life? Shall the place, wherever your husband is thrown, be more welcome than courts or cities without him? In short, these are some of the necessary methods to please men, who, like me, are deep-read in the world; and to a person thus made, I should be proud in giving all due returns towards making her happy. These are the questions I have always resolved to propose to her with whom I meant to pass

my life; and whenever you can heartily answer them in the affirmative, I shall be blessed to have you in my arms, without regarding whether your person be beautiful, or your fortune large."

Swift had now approached within the limit of a new attraction of the full force of which he had not yet become quite conscious: he only felt that a want of his nature was supplied by a new and fairer attraction. His desire to gratify his affections, and appropriate those of the young and lovely, could not resist the fresh and artless graces of the youthful pupil who repaid his care by respect and devotion. The question here occurs to the reader,—did he at this time, while meditating the breach of an engagement,—by means the most offensive to female pride, delicacy, and tenderness—at the same time plan the progress of such another unprincipled romance? Was he even now dressing the unconscious victim for the perfidious altar? We say clearly, Not:—he was like all young persons who follow a wrong direction, in the delusion that he would go right in the end. Matrimony, to some more attractive as the termination of a long and glittering path of excitements, than as a present good, danced afar before his imagination as the conclusion of life's romance,—a thing only thought of as a sanction for a thousand little vagaries which would, without such an end, be either criminal or absurd. It was but a chapter of the book of human fallacies, which includes all the aims of human life. We have dwelt strongly on this subject, because it is the key to the least intelligible and most interesting portion of Swift's history; and it will be important as we proceed, that the reader should bear in mind a clear sense of these considerations, as the grounds of interpretation which we shall apply to the solution of his intercourse with the two unhappy persons who were the victims of his regard.

During the immediately succeeding events of Swift's life, as involving little of characteristic importance, we may pass summarily. During the four years which he lived at Moor Park, being the interval between his return and Sir W. Temple's death, he continued his studies with the most intense assiduity. He also exercised his pen in the discussion of every question of public importance which occurred, and it was his habit for several previous years, to write, burn, and rewrite; thus disciplining his style into that ease, purity, and perspicuous simplicity of construction, which has obtained for him the most permanent part of his literary reputation. He was also careful of his health, and adopted the practice of daily exercise, by running half a mile up and down a hill every two hours. Among the labours of this period, he is mentioned to have studied the works of "Cyprian," and of "Irenæus."

It is also mentioned, that he was accustomed to pay an annual visit to his mother in Leicestershire, travelling on foot, unless when the severity of the weather compelled him to seek shelter in a waggon. On these excursions, he slept at some "penny-lodging"—we presume the waggoner's inn—where he paid sixpence for clean sheets. "This practice," Johnson observes, "lord Orrery imputes to his innate love of grossness and vulgarity. Some may ascribe it to his desire of surveying human life through all its varieties; and others, perhaps, with equal probability, to a passion which seems deeply fixed in his heart,

the love of a shilling." The second of the motives here assigned is that which was most proper to Johnson himself; the first and last have some apparent foundation in the habits of Swift. But all seem to overlook the facts of his situation and circumstances, which were at the time such as to render any other course inconvenient, perhaps impossible. Swift possessed no income, and must then have found it hard enough to keep himself in the necessary articles of wearing apparel.

In 1699, this period of peaceful and studious preparation was terminated by the death of Sir W. Temple. Swift had hitherto lived in expectation of a prebend of Canterbury, or Westminster, of which Sir W. had obtained a promise from the king. He was now left in possession of Sir William's literary remains, together with a hundred pounds, by a codicil to his patron's will, added eleven months before his death. The literary portion of this bequest must have seemed to one whose hopes were mainly founded on his talents as a writer, to offer a favourable occasion for coming before the public under the most favourable auspices. It also furnished him with the best opportunity for reminding king William of a promise. Swift combined both objects by publishing the remains thus committed to his care, with a dedication to the king. A petition, claiming the promise, was at the same time forwarded through the earl of Romney, who has been accused by Swift of having suppressed it. Whatever may have been the cause, it does not appear to have met with any notice. Swift continued to linger about the court for a long time, improving, we have no doubt, the edge of his satirical acrimony, and storing the fund of deep insight, of party address, of political passions, and of concentrated bitterness and scorn which so deeply tinctures all his writings and known conduct. During this probation, his abilities became well-known: and his powers of conversation as well as the keen sagacity of his observation on public measures, not only attracted great notice but largely extended his acquaintance and gained him many friends.

A person with such advantages could hardly miss of finding some desirous to serve him, or to use his talents. Lord Berkeley, on being appointed to the government of Ireland, offered to make him his private secretary and chaplain: he accepted these offers, and came over with this nobleman. Lord Berkeley's lady, and his two daughters, the ladies Mary and Elizabeth Berkeley, were accomplished, elegant, and amiable; and his residence at the castle was made agreeable to Swift. It was soon, however, interrupted. Another person who held some official station about lord Berkeley, and possessed that high sort of influence ever attained in courts by the useful instruments of dirty work, conceived the post of private secretary to be far more suited to himself; he was probably so far right, and we are inclined to suspect that the intimation originated something higher than it has been traced. Swift was no convenient confidant for a certain class of state secrets: though neither very nice nor delicate in his principles or moral taste—he was honest and rigidly upright, to the best of his judgment. He was induced to accede to the loss of his secretaryship, by the promise of the first rich living that should fall vacant. The

deanery of Derry soon offered, and he claimed the promise; but was informed by the gentleman who had stepped into his place, that it was necessary that he should pay a thousand pounds first to himself: Swift's reply is said to have been, "God confound you both for a pair of scoundrels;" after which, he at once quitted his apartments in the castle. It is mentioned by lord Orrery, however, that he would have been appointed to this preferment, but for the opposition of King, then bishop of Derry. The opposition of Dr King is very likely, but does not destroy the probability of the above story.

The satirical powers of Swift were by this time known and feared; and we should think that the above-mentioned simoniacal demand must also have been felt to be a dangerous weapon in such hands. The lord lieutenant took the speediest opportunity to make his peace, and disarmed a powerful and long-breathed enmity by the rectory of Agher, with the vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan, in the diocese of Meath. The combined emolument of these, with the prebend of Dunlavin, which was soon after added, amounted to something very small, not together amounting to £200 a year. An account of his expenses, during the year 1701, is given by Scott in a note, and it appears that this income was nicely managed;—his expenses, not including household economy, amounting to £100; of which £12 or £15 were expended in "charity and gifts." He seems to have lost £5 at cards.

The quarrel with lord Berkeley did not intercept the kindly intercourse between Swift and the ladies of the family. He retained his chaplaincy, and much of his time was passed in their society. Lady Elizabeth, better known as lady Betty Germaine, continued one of his most friendly correspondents through life. Their private circle was often animated by his wit: Scott mentions that it was here he first gave way "to the playfulness of his disposition in numerous poetical *jeux d'esprit*, which no poet ever composed with the same felicity and spirit." Among these playful effusions, he mentions "the inimitable petition of Mrs Frances Harris;" of which, he afterwards observes in his annotation upon the piece:—"In this petition, Swift has bound his powerful genius to the thought, sentiments, and expressions, of a chamber-maid;"—a feat which, it ought here to be added, was very characteristic of all his humorous compositions. He was a keen observer of every shade of manners, as well as course of conduct: in these two fields of experience, most of his intellectual range will, upon critical examination, be found. An amusing story is told of one of these sallies: he was employed by lady Berkeley more frequently than was agreeable to his taste to read aloud for her from the *Meditations* of the Hon. Mr Boyle. In imitation of the style of these, he composed a meditation upon a broom-stick, which, when next called upon, he read out with a grave countenance and solemn tone, as a portion of the book.

During this time, his sister married a person of the name of Fenton, a currier in Dublin. Swift was enraged at the match, and, it is said, offered her £500, the whole of his existing property, to break off the match. The offer was not taken, and he ever afterwards showed a coldness towards his sister: though it is much to his praise that he con-

tributed out of his small income to her support,—a needful act of generosity; for her husband became a bankrupt immediately after his marriage.

In the year 1700, after having discontinued his residence in the castle, he repaired to his living at Laracor, on foot. Several anecdotes of this journey are told. These are not sufficiently authentic for this brief sketch: we shall confine our narrative to one which is extremely characteristic. On his arrival, he went to the curate's house, where he bluntly announced himself "as his master;" and was received with all the deference which such a claim seemed to imply. The curate's wife was ordered to lay aside his only clean shirt and stockings, and he raised much alarm in the breasts of the simple pair, by those airs of stern and commanding superiority which he was so fond of assuming in sport, and so addicted to in reality. On this point, Scott has some happy remarks, which we must extract:—"This was the ruling trait of Swift's character to others; his praise assumed the appearance and language of complaint; his benefits were often prefaced by a prologue of a threatening nature; his most grave themes were blended with ironical pleasantry; and, in those of a higher nature, deep and bitter satire is often couched under the most trifling levity."

At Laracor his life was regulated by the most exact method of economy, and his conduct as a clergyman exemplary. He read prayers twice a-week—though on the weekday his church was thinly attended. The story so well known, of his addressing the service to his clerk on one of these occasions—is, on grounds which we think conclusive—rejected as a fable of lord Orrery's invention. It has been discovered in some jest-book of older standing. It may be remarked, as a very common source of such stories, that they are often rightly referred to the *person*, but changed as to the circumstances, for the sake of improving the narration. It is also affirmed, on creditable authority, that his church was unusually frequented by the surrounding gentry.

He is mentioned to have expressed strong indignation at the dilapidated condition of his church and vicarage, and to have expended considerable sums in the repair and improvement of both. He added, at his own cost, nineteen acres to the glebe at Laracor—till then consisting of but one acre—and laid out the whole in the taste of the age, which the reader is aware was very different from the modern style of landscape gardening. He planted a garden—converted a little stream into a canal, and adorned it with a bank of willows. He purchased the tithes of Effernock, which, by his will, he bequeathed to his successors, so long as "the established church" should last, and "to the poor, in case it should be exchanged for any other form of the christian religion, always excepting from the benefit those of Jews, Atheists, and Infidels."

Swift, though not very earnest in his wishes to enter into the ties and obligations, and the various real and imaginary restraints of matrimony, was yet in the highest degree inclined to the indulgence of those tender sentiments and that refined intercourse, which can only exist between the sexes. As we have fully explained, the remote intent of a nearer tie was sufficient to sanction and give a purer and more cor-

dial tone to the attentions and endearments of such an intercourse. Of such a dangerous understanding, his former pupil, Miss Esther Johnson, was destined to become the victim, and it was at this time that their very peculiar connexion commenced. Miss Johnson's affections had early become engaged to her admirer, and his (such as they were,) were not less won by her beauty, talent, and goodness; and, we have no doubt of the fact, that both contemplated marriage at some future period, as the ultimatum of their hopes and wishes: for this we shall presently offer our reasons. Sir W. Temple had bequeathed to Miss Johnson a leasehold interest which he held in the county of Wicklow; and it readily occurred to her lover and herself, that the care of her little property required that she should live in Ireland. Swift planned the execution of this resolve, so as to meet his own wishes, and in a fatal hour for this unfortunate lady, whom we shall henceforth call Stella—the name by which she is so well known—she came with her friend and companion, Mrs Dingly, to reside in the county of Meath. The following plan of life was adopted, to guard against the scandal which such an arrangement might otherwise excite,—Stella took up her residence at Trim, where she lived when Swift was at Laracor; but always removed to that vicarage when he was absent. It is evident, also, that Swift's anxious care, on this delicate point, had another motive of no slight weight: fearful always of being hurried into a marriage to which he had a yet unconscious dislike, he was aware that any serious and detrimental calumny would peremptorily necessitate the only step which could effectively meet it. He was therefore actuated by a watchful anxiety to maintain the safety of a tie which he desired to keep up for a long time at least. Poor Stella could not conceive any cause of delay but the one ostensible and expressed reason—often, though perhaps indirectly, insinuated by her admirer—his ambition would deter him from marriage, until his fortune should be equal to support the burthen in a style suitable to his taste. This point was sedulously impressed. But to Stella, this prospect did not appear remote: the same talent and influence which had so far advanced him, could not fail to carry him further, and hope looked confidently forward to the result so earnestly desired. Scott observes, that such an understanding between them was “highly probable:” considering the ordinary intent of this expression, it fails to convey the moral certainty of the fact. A careful perusal of the letters, which he not long after wrote to her from London, places it beyond doubt: as they abound with intimations which admit of no other construction, without assuming the most perfidious and inexcusable design of cheating his victim by the basest equivocations—and this will be assumed by no one who considers the character of Swift. Of this curious and interesting correspondence, we must take some notice presently, when it will become a portion of our materials: we shall, therefore, only further add here, that the terms of endearment, in which Stella is addressed, such as, “dearest,” “love MD. ten thousand times beyond his life,” &c., have but one signification to a young woman, and but one intent when used to such by a man of common sense. While in speaking of his expectations and fortunes, he now and then intimates, that his anxiety on this head is all for her sake. It should indeed be

observed, that the peculiar style of a pet language, in which everything is said in a half playful manner, seems to have been adopted to prevent the language of endearment from generally assuming too serious a direction; but the whole is too evidently accommodated to one, and only one, state of feeling between the parties concerned, to admit of any doubt.

Not looking to the imprudent character, and unhappy result of this connexion, it was calculated to throw a transient glow of happiness over the life of Swift. Having succeeded in colouring his conduct with the plea of good intentions, he was enabled to enjoy the society which was essential to his temper, and to possess all that he much cared for of matrimony, divested of its peculiar cares, encumbrances, and ties. But such a felicity was evidently liable to interruptions of a very trying and imbittering character: such, as with any one more impassioned, and less absorbed than Swift, must have soon compelled the adoption of a securer tie. Stella, at this time young, beautiful, and engaging, was the object of general admiration; and when it was understood that she was disengaged, she accordingly met with a respectable suitor in the person of the Reverend Dr William Tisdal, a neighbouring clergyman, who was living in habits of intimacy with Swift. The circumstance was in a high degree embarrassing. On her part, Stella must have felt the impossibility of appearing to assume intentions yet undeclared, although she had no doubt that a little time would bring forth such a declaration. And, indeed, there can be little reasonable doubt, that she must have looked on this incident as offering a happy occasion to bring her lover to this act of justice. Swift had strong affections; but his pride and ambition were far stronger; he also saw too keenly into the affections and motives of others. Instead of being carried from his course, he had recourse to manoeuvre: affecting to consider the address of Mr Tisdal on the general views of prudence, he took the part rather of a common friend and guardian, than that of one personally interested as a rival. Of this position he dexterously availed himself, to throw every impediment in the way. To Stella he contrived to appear to speak fairly of his rival in the language of approbation; but while his praise amounted to nothing, it was accompanied and coloured by satire and the intelligible but indirect intimations of dislike and disapproval. Stella felt disappointed; but with the ordinary infatuation of female devotedness, she soon repaired the broken tissues of a baffled expectation, found reasons for her lover's conduct, and trusted still. Swift was reproached by Tisdal for his insincerity; and that there were ample grounds for this accusation, is to be proved from the published correspondence of Swift.* It will be unnecessary to go further into a subject which we can only here notice for its general bearing on the history of Swift's intercourse with Stella. Mr Tisdal made his formal proposals and was refused; after which there must have been a general understanding, that Swift and Stella were contracted to each other.

Swift's mind, in the midst of these arrangements, so laden with future ill, was far less subject to the influence of social and domestic

* Scott's Edition, vol. xv.

ties, than to the earnest ambition which is so strongly excited by the consciousness of great and untried powers,—his extensive reading—his keen insight into life, and its concerns—his expert power of combination—his commanding and ready elocution—his mastery of satire, with all its keen and glittering weapons—and the power of winning his way by address, appearance, and nerve. This rare and powerful array of distinguished endowments could not be willingly devoted to the retirement of Laracor. He had a keen sense, that it was not his vocation, to “play with the tangles of Neæra’s hair;” and burned to tread the arena for which his whole nature was constituted. A mind, with so many strong springs of action, was likely to have formed determinate views of questions, and to be little tied by the conventions of party: he would be apt to judge from reason, or the prepossessions of his own mind, rather than be ruled by the prejudices of opinion. He might be in error, but he was too proud to be the follower of crowds. Accordingly, we find that he had his own political views composed out of those entertained by both of the great parties then prominent in public affairs. He was a tory in religion, and a whig in politics. These well-known political distinctions had their origin in this reign; but in the circling course of social opinions, it has so happened, that the parties who respectively bore these names are now understood to have changed places. The proposition must be received with some very important modifications, which it would be irrelevant to explain in this place, but which shall be very minutely investigated in our introduction to the last division of these memoirs. In one main respect, the common assertion may be taken as a general understanding of the grounds then severally occupied by those two great parties. The whigs maintained the principles of the revolution, and the succession of the house of Hanover: they were then the great constitutional and protestant party. The tories were, in these respects, understood to have a leaning to the principles of the papal party, the divine right of kings, and the claims of the Pretender. In the same manner, and by virtue of the same principles, differently applied, on different grounds, and not quite with the same justness of inference, the whigs carried their liberal ideas of civil government into ecclesiastical polity; and in their zeal for freedom, they incurred the reproach of latitudinarianism. The tories, on the opposite hand, carried the same tenacity of ancient institutions which characterized their politics, to the support of ecclesiastical rights and government. Thus the whigs were what was called *low church*, and the tories were in like manner distinguished by the designation of *high church*. Both parties remain to this day; and, notwithstanding the assertion of most historians and politicians who have spoken of them, have, through all, severally retained their identity in principle. The changes have been in the times and circumstances; and we shall hereafter show how the same principles, consistently and invariably pursued, may, in the course of a few generations, carry any party over to most opposite ground. One word must here conclude these observations. The tendency of human opinions (always built upon the practical state of things, and held by convention, rather than founded on reason) is ever to pass on to extremes. Thus, the principle of change and reform will always be found working

in the road of change; and in the same manner, the party which once maintained abuses may again be found maintaining sound institutions. The Tories, who would have preserved an arbitrary government and slavish institutions, are in the course of time still found resisting, though with wiser views, the dangerous accelerations of social change; and the Whigs, who broke down the iron ramparts of ancient tyranny, and widened the road for the progress of civil liberty, are perhaps now carried on to remove the outworks of our limited monarchy, by the mere progress of the same system of opinions. There is one error which, so far as we know, has not been fully exposed—the assumption that, in a science so profound and complicated as the laws of social tendency, the crowd of party politicians can possibly look at institutions through any medium but certain prepossessions arising out of their local interests and associations, and the habits of mind they engender. When the remote consequences of events and changes, and the far-off tendencies of the social state, are to be pronounced on, the most far-sighted intellects can reach but a little way. It is much, by a wide scope of comprehension, and an accurate observation of passing events, for the wisest man to pronounce what is actually occurring under his eyes. We have no concern here in such considerations, further than our immediate purpose of guarding against an error in the acceptance of words. We know not how far the career of social change may be propelled by that Power, whose plans alone will always terminate the efforts of human wisdom or folly; which, in their political projects and counsels, are but wielding a system of machinery too complicated in its combinations, and too subject to unseen interferences, to be governed to any certain premeditated end.

Leaving for the present these general considerations, it will be easy to understand the grounds upon which a churchman of independent temper and clear understanding might adopt the just views, and reject the errors of either party, and agree with one in supporting sound principles of civil government, and with the other in preserving the constitution and immunities of the church of England. This independent election of political opinions, inconsistent with the thorough-going spirit of party, was probably felt as an embarrassment for a time by Swift in taking his direction. But in this respect he was to be governed by circumstances. Whatever might have been the principles of Swift, he had a sense of communion with either side. He was in reality far more a politician than a churchman—more bent on fame and preferment, than devoted to either church or state; and whichever party could best promote his objects, or was readiest to conciliate his ruling pride, he could join without self-reproach, and quit with a fair excuse. Accident first impelled him towards the Whigs.

In the latter end of king William's reign, the contests between the two houses of parliament rose to a pitch of violence and animosity, which was in no small degree adapted to endanger the authority of both. The lower house—from its more popular constitution, ever in those ancient times more liable to inflammable impulses—having exerted a factious authority to harass and impede the counsels of the king, extended its hostility to those noblemen who had been his confidential servants and advisers. In 1701, impeachments were preferred against

Somers, Halifax, and other lords, who had been concerned in a treaty for the partition of Spain. The lords, opposed to these proceedings, endeavoured to restrain them within the bounds of law and of parliamentary privilege. With the results we are not concerned: it is enough to say that the contest rose to a height sufficient to carry alarm to sober minds. Swift saw these violent proceedings through the light of Grecian history: he recollected those civil convulsions in the nations of antiquity, in which the dissensions of the upper classes exposed them to disorganizing assaults from the democracy, elevated by their discords to an unnatural position in the state; and thus let in those fierce irruptions of licentious anarchy of which the end is despotism, in every instance, when not modified by peculiar circumstances, which had not in those early times arisen. This application of the precedents from antiquity, which has been very effectively resorted to in our own times, was the peculiar taste of a time when political science had not taken an independent form, and the works of the ancients formed a considerable portion of literature. He published a pamphlet upon the contests and dissensions between the nobles and commons in Athens and Rome.

This dissertation, in material and method harmonizing with the intellectual bent of the age, and set off by a style peculiar to its author, simple and nervous beyond any other then or perhaps since known, could not fail to attract a general attention. It was at once ascribed to Somers, and, when denied by him, to Burnet. The bishop was forced to disown it publicly, to escape the resentment of the commons. Swift happened to be in company with the bishop of Kilmore when this report became the subject of conversation; and, on denying its truth, was assured by the bishop that he was "a young man." On repetition of his denial, the bishop called him "a positive young man." The temptation was too strong to be resisted by Swift's temper, and he acknowledged the production to be his own. In the following year, when the accession of queen Anne effected a great change in the relative position of parties, bringing in those great whig lords who had courted her during the late reign, and fixing for a time their party by the commanding favouritism of Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, there was now no motive for concealment of the authorship of a pamphlet which could have been attributed to Somers and Burnet. The reputation thus acquired gave at once a stamp of distinction to his character, and introduced him to lord Halifax, to Somers, and the earl of Sunderland, with whom he had already some slight acquaintance. At this time, we are informed by Swift himself, that he had several conversations with lord Somers, in an after-recollection of which, he says—"I told him, that having been long conversant with the Greek and Latin authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to be what they call a whig in politics, and that besides, I thought it impossible on any other principle to defend or submit to the revolution; but as to religion, I confessed myself to be a high churchman, and that I could not conceive how any one who wore the habit of a clergyman could be otherwise."

During this interval, he also formed acquaintances and friendships with the most eminent literary persons of the time. A passage in

Sheridan's life of Swift contains some curious particulars of his first appearance among the wits, and is also descriptive of the species of intercourse and habits usual among literary men in his day, for which reason we shall extract the whole. "Though the greatness of Swift's talents was known to many in private life, and his company and conversation much sought after and admired, yet was his name hitherto little known in the republic of letters. The only pieces which he had then published were, 'The Battle of the Books,' and 'The Contests and Divisions in Athens and Rome,' and both without a name. Nor was he personally known to any of the wits of the age, excepting Mr Congreve, and one or two more, with whom he had contracted a friendship at Sir William Temple's. The knot of wits used at this time to assemble at Button's coffee-house; and I had a singular account of Swift's first appearance there from Ambrose Phillips, who was one of Addison's little senate. He said that they had for several successive days observed a strange clergyman come into the coffee-house, who seemed utterly unacquainted with any of those who frequented it; and whose custom it was to lay his hat down on a table, and walk backward and forward at a good pace for half an hour or an hour, without speaking to any mortal, or seeming in the least to attend to anything that was going forward there. He then used to take up his hat, pay his money at the bar, and walk away without opening his lips. After having observed this singular behaviour for some time, they concluded him to be out of his senses; and the name that he went by among them was that of 'the mad parson.' This made them more than usually attentive to his motions; and one evening, as Mr Addison and the rest were observing him, they saw him cast his eyes several times on a gentleman in boots, who seemed to be just come out of the country, and at last advanced toward him, as intending to address him. They were all eager to hear what this dumb mad parson had to say, and immediately quitted their seats to get near him. Swift went up to the country gentleman, and in a very abrupt manner, without any previous salute, asked him, 'Pray, Sir, do you remember any good weather in the world?' The country gentleman, after staring a little at the singularity of his manner, and the oddity of the question, answered, 'Yes, Sir, I thank God, I remember a great deal of good weather in my time.' 'That is more,' said Swift, 'than I can say. I never remember any weather that was not too hot or too cold, too wet or too dry; but, however God Almighty contrives it, at the end of the year 'tis all very well.' Upon saying this, he took up his hat, and, without uttering a syllable more, or taking the least notice of any one, walked out of the coffee-house, leaving all those who had been spectators of this odd scene staring after him, and still more confirmed in the opinion of his being mad." To this most valuable, because most characteristic anecdote, we might add others taken from the same source, but that we have been already too much tempted to exceed the scale of our space.

The Tale of a Tub, which was published in 1704, gave the last stamp to the character which he, in this interval, began to acquire among the wits of his time. This very peculiar production is supposed to have been first sketched out at an early period in the university of Dublin. Its style is formed upon that of Rabelais, and, in the judg-

ment of Scott, displays all his humour, without his extravagance. The design is to trace the several histories of the churches of Rome, the church of England, and of the Presbyterian, under the allegorical fiction of three brothers, Peter, Jack, and Martin, who are severally made to represent by their conduct and actions the main incidents affecting those divisions of the Christian church. It was published for the service of the high church party, and is said to have been very efficient in promoting its interests. It had, however, an unfortunate effect upon the writer's fortunes, as this service was not so much felt by those whose approbation was most to be desired, as the injury inflicted upon religion by the characteristic levity with which sacred things are treated. This gave justifiable offence to the pious of every sect, and eventually was the obstacle to Swift's promotion. At the bar of *human opinion* there is, however, something to be said for the author. It was a day of form and profession, rather than of genuine piety. The sacred writings were held in decent reverence, and considered as title-deeds in the depositary of the church; but a spurious tissue of human ethics had insensibly crept into their proper place. Society had not yet recovered from the shock of those extremes of fanaticism and licentiousness which had been mutually opposed to each other in the last previous generations. It was a consequence, that the language of scripture had become as offensive to the taste, as blasphemy and ribaldry to the sense of decorum; while the higher and more peculiar tenets of the gospel were not yet divested of the tinge with which cant and folly had encompassed them. In such a state of the times, it is easy to feel how an overflowing wit, a mind not very reverent by nature, and a temper addicted to levity, would have been betrayed into the facile and tempting indiscretion of burlesque, for which the most grave and solemn truths afford the readiest scope. Answers were written by eminent divines and scholars, who all agreed in marking with severity the inconsistency of such a profane satire with the profession of the author. And this opposition and censure were justified by the fact, that Voltaire and his execrable school, which made wit, blasphemy, and buffoonery, answer those infidel purposes to which reason has ever been found an unsafe ally, hailed the *Tale of a Tub* with acclamations. Happily, indeed, the point of ridicule could be less mischievously effective in England, where, amidst all the corruptions of the time, the truths of God had been placed on sure foundations; and it may still be said for Swift, that France and its crumbling and sand-built church was not in his contemplation. One thing is fit to be added—the work was not publicly owned by the author. Though fully recognised as his production among the literary and ecclesiastical circles, he preserved a prudent but ineffectual reserve upon the subject through his whole life.

The high church party, in the course of time, admitted that this production had done them service. But long before this, Swift had been received as a friend among the whigs, who were far less liable to the species of offence which we have explained. He was become the intimate and social companion of Addison, Steele, &c., among the literary; and was not less distinguished by the notice and favour of such men as Somers, Halifax, and Pembroke.

Between Swift and Addison there soon was nurtured a friendship worthy of two such men; and we ought here to say, what we have too much neglected, in our anxiety to trace some of his less understood peculiarities, that few men have been more worthy of praise for those engaging qualities which can attract tenderness or gain esteem in private life than Swift. A dignified person and countenance—a most clear, unfailing, appropriate, and nervous flow of language—a thorough command of his faculties and acquirements—an overflow of gay, sparkling transitions from the most unequalled vein of humour to the most refined and classic wit;—with this, there was a fervour in the expression of his sentiments and affections, to which the occasional bluntness and pungency of his manner and style of expression gave the tone of sincerity. These particulars may be collected from anecdotes, from his correspondence, and from the very deep and permanent impression which he appears evidently to have made on all who came within the scope of his familiar acquaintance. At this period, Addison appears to have filled the first place in his regard. When they were together, they wished, it is said, to escape the interruption of any other acquaintances.

Notwithstanding the warmth with which he was cultivated, still it is very likely that some dissatisfaction was perceptible among his political friends, at the peculiar combination of opinions which he freely expressed. Such avowals of the creeds of opposite parties were understood, as they still are, to constitute political inconsistency; and he was soon taught to feel that some change must take place in himself or his friends, before his path to consequence and preferment could lie smooth to his feet. With this view, he began by efforts to unite the parties, or more probably to recommend to the whigs the church principles of their opponents. The fruits of this effort were not brought to maturity, as he appears not to have succeeded in satisfying his own fastidious judgment, and burned in the mornings what he composed at night. One pamphlet alone was suffered to appear—"The Sentiments of a Church of England Man, with respect to Religion and Government." It was published in 1708, and contains, says Scott, "a statement concerning the national religious establishment, fair, temperate, and manly, unless where it may be thought too strongly to favour the penal laws against nonconformity. The final conclusion is, that 'in order to preserve the constitution entire in church and state, whoever has a true value for both would be sure to avoid the extremes of whig for the sake of the former, and the extremes of tory on account of the latter.'"

The effect of such a temperate and independent course will be readily conceived by any one who has the least notion of the prejudices of party understanding—prejudices, it is to be admitted, which, though unfounded in principle, are seldom altogether wrong when applied to individuals; for clever men use truth itself for the purpose of obtaining ends in which truth or right are at best but secondary. We have, in our acquaintance with the world, met very few indeed who could not quickly construct a bridge of wise, worthy, and high-sounding motives for any change their interests might happen to require; and thus it is that the public, which can little comprehend motives much

above the average of human honesty and virtue, will be commonly right in assigning the lowest motives to most public men. Scott observes that the pamphlet above mentioned was but a preliminary step to the desertion of the author's party. Another pamphlet soon followed, which must have been considered as placing such a conjecture beyond doubt, though it must still be admitted to be strictly consistent with his known and declared opinions. This was his celebrated "Letter upon the Sacramental Test," in which all the weapons of reason and ridicule are exhausted to maintain the principles of the high church party. He concealed the authorship for a time, but it was soon traced; and from this commenced a coolness between him and the whigs.

It was about the same time that Swift was first employed by archbishop King to solicit for the tenths and first-fruits. We have already, in this volume, related the main particulars of this commission.* The attempt at this time failed, as this concession, having been made to the English clergy, was thought to have been ineffective in conciliating them to the government; and for the more obvious reason, that being considered as tories, they could expect nothing from a whig administration. This administration was indeed little inclined to favour the church, for it was as latitudinarian in religion as it was liberal in politics. The whigs have retained both of these their specific marks; but the latter has ceased to be a virtue.

Swift was too sagacious not to see that his favour with the whigs was no longer to be relied upon. He left town, and having spent some months in Leicestershire, returned to Ireland. Lord Wharton was at this time the lord-lieutenant. Swift had a letter to him from lord Somers; but instead of availing himself of it, he passed without delay through Dublin, and retired to meditate other efforts at Laracor. He was indeed prevailed on, by the importunity of friends, to deliver his letter; but having done so, withdrew, and seldom after visited town during the government of Wharton. Previous to his return, some slight efforts for his advancement had been made, and failed; and he had been led to indulge a vain expectation that, through the interest of the same friends, something was likely to be obtained from this nobleman. The history of this has been perverted by the malice of an individual, but we cannot afford room to misrepresentations which need no refutation. The truth seems to be, that lord Somers had pressed for his appointment as chaplain to Wharton, and that this application was defeated by the hostility of archbishop Tenison and other bishops, whom Mr Monck Berkeley, with as much courtesy as good taste and gentlemanlike feeling, terms "right reverend blockheads." It is also made apparent that Swift expected, but did not apply for the chaplaincy.

We must now sum very briefly the incidents of this interval which remain. In 1709, he published a "Project for the Advancement of Religion," which made an impression of the utmost importance: in the next year, fifty churches were built in London avowedly on its suggestion. It must, however, be added, that, like all human projects of any extent, it contained much that would be impracticable, and something that would be pernicious. It is the common fault of projectors to

* See Life of Archbishop King.

overlook the imperfections of means, the effects of accident, and the vices and follies of men. A system of censorial commissioners, to inspect and guard the morals of society, might itself not display the purest example—*quis custodiet ipsos custodes* might be a question not easy to resolve: assuredly, the administrations of Harley and Walpole would ill brook the existence of a court of moral inspectors. But we are carried away from our purpose. Under the assumed name of Isaac Bickerstaff, he published "Predictions for the Year 1708," in which the style of that class of quackeries which it was its design to ridicule, is assumed with admirable adroitness. Among other wagghish announcements for the year, he prophesied the death of an eccentric person, a Mr John Partridge, who was popularly known in that day, as practitioner in physic and astrology. He fixed the event upon the 29th of March, at the hour of eleven at night. Partridge was enraged, and in his almanack for 1709, did not fail to assure the public that he was still "living, and in health, and all were knaves who reported otherwise." Partridge had the ill-fortune, in the efforts which he made for his own protection, to fall into the hands of persons who readily lent their aid to keep up the joke. A letter, which he addressed to a friend in Dublin, was transmitted to the junto of wits, of whom his tormentor was one, and soon after appeared in the *Tattler*. Isaac Bickerstaff replied, and insisted on his decease in several amusing pieces in the dry irony of Swift's style. At last poor Partridge became so annoyed, that he had recourse to Dr Yalden, who lived near him. Yalden affected to enter seriously into his case, and published a pamphlet, entitled, "Bickerstaff Detected; or the Astrological Impostor Convicted," in which in Partridge's own name he gives a most ludicrous narration of his sufferings from the prediction of Bickerstaff. The inquisition in Portugal took Swift's predictions as seriously as Partridge, and treated the predictions of Bickerstaff, as doubtless they would have treated the author, having sentenced them to be burned. This joke was sustained for two years, and was carried on by the aid of Prior, Rowe, Steele, &c. It is said to have given rise to the *Tattler*, and consequently to that series of British periodical writings which are now among the classics of our language.

Swift's mother died in 1710. Of this event he says, "I have now lost my barrier between me and death. God grant I may live to be as well prepared for it, as I confidently believe her to have been—if the way to heaven be through piety, truth, justice, and charity, she is there."

In the same year, he was once more commissioned to solicit for the remission of first-fruits and tenths, on, we believe, the suggestion, and interest of archbishop King, and arrived in London upon the 7th of September. In a letter to the archbishop, dated on the 9th of the same month, he gives an account of his reception. He was caressed by the principal men of both parties: the Tories had perhaps calculated on receiving him into their party, as they were generally aware that his opinions were in some important respects favourable to such a change; it was also not unknown, that he was discontented with the neglect which he had experienced from the Whigs. These considerations are hinted

strongly in the letter in which he writes:—"Upon my arrival here, I found myself equally caressed by both parties: by one [the whigs,] as a sort of bough for drowning men to lay hold of;* and by the other, as one discontented with the late men in power, *for not being thorough in their designs*, and therefore ready to approve present things." By lord Godolphin alone, he was coldly received, and felt it with characteristic bitterness of spirit; his mind had been already made up, but we cannot doubt that the affront went to increase the sum of motives, and give additional decision to his conduct. He afterwards took his revenge in a satire, entitled, "Sid Hamet's Rod."

A brief retrospect will be necessary for a clear insight into the position in which he now stood. There had for some years existed a slow reaction of popular feeling against the whigs. The people of England, by nature disposed to the vindication of constitutional freedom, have always shown a sober-minded reverence for sacred institutions, such as to preserve them from being ever carried too far by the latitudinarian temper so often apt to lose sight of the distinctions between divine and human things. Whether, at those times which are the subject of our narrative, this latter disposition was or was not carried to the extreme of a prejudice, we are not called upon to say: but the decline of the whig party can be in some measure traced to a violent reaction of popular feeling against the patrons and supporters of low church principles. There had also for some years been widening and enlarging, a deep and dark mine under their feet, by secret intrigues, carried on between the tory leaders and the court. The duchess of Marlborough, who had hitherto been the presiding genius of the whigs by the absolute ascendancy which her wit, spirit, and cleverness preserved over the feeble though tenacious temper of queen Anne, had early committed a fatal error by the introduction into the household of the princess, Mrs Abigail Hill, a poor relation whom she had taken under her protection. Mrs Hill had an understanding of her own, and a spirit many degrees more suited to gain the favour of the princess who feared the haughty duchess, and was won by the art, and well-assumed affection and subserviency of the bed-chamber woman. This the duchess was too proud to suspect, it was thus kept profoundly secret for several years: and the mystery of a clandestine intercourse, which has so much charm for small minds, strengthened and confirmed the influence thus acquired. Abigail Hill was also related to Mr Harley, who soon, by her means, became a party in these secret gossipings. The fear and dislike which the queen entertained against the whigs, and her strong desire to break the bond by which they held her in subjection which she wanted spirit to resist, became the well-selected groundwork of this intrigue. Harley was admitted to private audiences by a back stair entrance to the queen's closet, and soon won the favour of the queen, by the hopes he held out of breaking the power of the whigs, and setting her free from their tyrannical authority. This intercourse was discovered by the duchess some three or four years before the time at which we are now arrived; and from that moment she was perhaps aware that her authority was in danger. The

* He uses the same expression in his journal to Stella.

duchess was too proud to strive successfully against the influence of such low arts; she was so accustomed to command, that she could hardly bring home to her mind that such was the actual state of facts: she still continued to pursue the same course of lofty self-assertion, and it required much time and persuasion to strengthen the feeble Anne enough to make even an effort to shake off the high and stern ascendancy by which she was held in awe. Three years of whispering, persuasions, exhortations, and promises, were scarcely sufficient to loosen these ties. The duchess, at last giving way to her own haughty impulses, openly assailed the queen, who quailed before her, and even denied the secret practices; from which there ensued a succession of slights, offences, and tart collisions, which gradually operated first to loosen affection, and then to wear away respect. Thus, at last, the queen grew hardened against remonstrances, and irritated by reiterated insults into courage: the obstinacy of her temper was summoned to her aid, and her small "stock of amity," which, according to Swift, was not sufficient for more than one, was entirely transferred to a more convenient union. The spell that had bound her was dissolved, and with her hatred to the whigs, who had so long held her in constraint, her hopes of freedom grew. In the mean time the whigs were crippled by jealousies and dissensions, which we do not think it necessary to notice. Under these circumstances, there had been for some years a fierce struggle, in which each party gained occasional or seeming advantages, until an incident, apparently slight in itself, for a moment threw the kingdom into a flame, and gave rise to a strong reaction of high, church zeal, which shook from its already insecure foundations, and precipitated the whig administration to the dust. This incident was the famous sermon of Sacheverel, whose inflated eloquence might have been comparatively ineffective, had not the desperation of the whigs raised him at once to popularity by an impeachment. We cannot enter into details: England soon resounded with the cry of "high church and Sacheverel." Harley was not remiss to avail himself of the juncture: the time had arrived for the dismissal of his enemies; and all that was wanting was, to secure a tory parliament. He therefore advised the dissolution of parliament; and, in the heat of the agitation which had been set in motion, a tory election became a matter of certainty. Harley now carried matters as he thought good, and brought in a cabinet of his own, in which, with his characteristic artifice, he retained several whigs, lest his party should escape from his own control.

It was not long after this event that Swift commenced the most interesting period of his life. Besides his strong affection to the church, he had been discontented with his whig friends. It is needless to analyze the substance of his complaints; we shall only say, that to our eyes they seem not very well founded. He was known to be a doubtful ally, and it cannot be said that he had fairly awaited the ordinary probation of the best earned court patronage; Somers had done all that ought to be expected, and Halifax might well exact some further and more unequivocal support than his letter "on the Sacramental Test" implied. Swift was himself impatient and vindictive, and having taken offence at some, was little disposed to enter into those

minutiae, of which such questions are mostly composed. He saw the condition of a party which had at best been cold friends, and he consulted his duty as a churchman, not more than his obvious interest in stepping over to the ascending scale.

These points being understood, the proceedings of the following few years will demand no lengthened narration. The business of soliciting, upon which he was employed, gave him a ready introduction to Harley, by whom he was received in a manner which plainly shows how much his accession was coveted. The affair of the Irish 20ths, and first-fruits, was soon and easily despatched; but a close and familiar intercourse, such as we believe can find no parallel in history was established between Swift and Mr Harley. By this minister he was introduced to St John, and from that, they appear to have between them left nothing undone to secure his affections to themselves, and his invaluable co-operation in their service. For this end they conciliated and won his haughty independence of spirit, by submitting to the tone of equality often bordering on dictation, which was the result of his pride and conscious importance: in this respect they had indeed no choice; for the talents and temper of Swift could not fail to assume their level; and it may be added, that the brilliancy of his conversation, his high spirit, and the evident indications of a noble and generous temper, could not be without their appropriate influence. Without these considerations, it is indeed one of the many difficulties to be found in Swift's life, to comprehend the species of importance, so rapidly acquired by a person entirely destitute of those claims which are commonly recognised in the higher political circles. The reader has only to imagine any one whom he conceives to be the foremost political partisan of the present day, placed in precisely the same circumstances with a modern prime minister, to bring home to his mind the nature of the obstacles to be surmounted by the most transcendent powers. There were, at the same time, some facilities which do not now exist: the public mind was then mainly accessible by the instrumentality of the pamphleteering tribe—and of this class Swift was the *facile princeps*,—or only to be approached by the very first writers of the whigs. Standing on this ground, the rest may be ascribed to the ascendancy of genius and character; but it should be observed that the same powers, in the present day would not tend to place their possessor in a similar position. The rise and singular progress of Swift's intimacy with Mr Harley is marked in the journal which he regularly transmitted to Mrs Johnson; and in which the slightest incidents of his personal history were recorded from day to day. To this journal the reader, who desires such information, may be referred for much curious display of character, and many details too minute for a sketch like this. We may observe that we have attentively perused it, and that many of the decisions to which we have come upon the character and conduct of the writer, have been mainly founded upon the gleams of himself, to be found in this, and in his correspondence; not, indeed, from any intentional disclosures, which are seldom of any value in the appreciation of character; but from the due estimate of the general value of those indications always to be detected in the private intercourse of life. We are compelled to confine our narration to the main incidents.

Swift, as we have related, was admitted at once to the most familiar intimacy with Mr Harley and the secretary, Mr St John, with both of whom, he contracted a close and permanent friendship. It is doubted that he was ever admitted to their confidence—this doubt originated with lord Orrery, and was repeated by Johnson. Sir Walter quotes the passage from Orrery, and replies to it at length, and decisively. Lord Orrery, however, was not fully possessed of those details which time has since placed on record, and which satisfactorily prove that there was no reserve so far as related to the actual conduct and business of the government. The several papers written by Swift, and above all, his history of the Peace, manifest a thorough and documentary acquaintance with all the main transactions of this administration; and the letters at a later period of his life, between himself and the principal parties concerned, fully confirm this impression. A man like Swift could not well have been duped by such men as Harley and St John; but, it is evident that lord Orrery was deceived by want of duly distinguishing between their public policy and those private personal views and interests which men do not always thoroughly understand in themselves, and seldom confide to others, till the occasion seems to require such disclosures. As the history of these persons is strongly interwoven with that of Swift, it may be advantageous to form some distinct idea of their characters. Harley appears to have possessed considerable scholarship and literary taste, with a sufficient range of those inferior talents which are available in debate, or in the routine of official business: he was in a higher degree master of the tact and address essential to the consummate intriguer; but in him these qualities were neutralized by an indolent habit, and a wavering and procrastinating spirit: he was a man to play out his game in a falling house. He had many kindly and amiable affections, a moderate temper, with an inclination to right, but a greater zeal for his own personal aggrandizement. He was placed in a doubtful and difficult position, and compelled to act in opposition to his own political views, against a party which he respected and feared, and with a party which he distrusted and disliked. He, therefore, often acted equivocally, and always manifested an indecision which gave great discontent to his party, and to which they finally attributed their decline. He had at his back a most violent party strongly heated with feelings unfavourable to the act of settlement, and, as the mob of party ever will be, anxious to precipitate extreme measures. Of these, he was more fearful than of his declared enemies, and was forced to take refuge in delays, and reserves; and, where he dared not avow motives, to raise secret impediments. The party of which he was nominally the leader, contained a large infusion of Jacobites. In the course of events, the possibility of a restoration of the exiled race became an object of contemplation to many observant politicians, and to Harley among the rest. Hence arose a private and strictly personal interest, which gave rise to a trimming, cautious, and unprincipled correspondence of the most clandestine character: and also to some extent enfeebled, and rendered additionally inconsistent, the deportment of this amiable, but not very strictly principled man. Though we should in fairness add, that the reproach must be qualified

by a consideration of the state of affairs which offered motives not now easy to estimate fully; for, between the house of Hanover, and the Pretender, the event was for some years seemingly very doubtful; and it must have been, with many, a question on which side the accommodating virtue of loyalty would be found to fall: the question has been happily settled, and we can now safely allow our reason to be candid. Though it is illustrative of national good sense, and right principle, that it would have been dangerous to avow a doubt; yet it ought to be recollected that an attachment to the Stuart race had not yet become a disgrace. But it was, in truth, the fault of Harley, to be devoid of political affections: like many of both parties, he only looked to his own interest, and desired to be prepared for whatever might fall out.

Mr St John, to whom Swift was at once introduced, compared with Harley, was a person of far more brilliant powers, but inferior in good sense and virtue. A libertine as to morals, a latitudinarian as to principle,—he was endowed with matchless eloquence, and a considerable mastery of the resources of intellectual power. His views were bold and specious, and if we cannot admit them to be profound, we will add, that we are not very confident of the precision of this class of distinctions: the mere assumption of a few elementary fallacies is enough to set awry the whole system of the most powerful reason. The profligate—and St John was a profligate—who is governed by the worst passions, must employ his reason to find a refuge from self-contempt in the worst principles; and, hence, it may have been that Bolingbroke was a false subject, and a shallow free-thinker. He was, however, a man of brilliant powers, of warm affections, and engaging manners: like all who feel the proud consciousness of intellectual power; and, perhaps, the juster tastes to which it gives birth, he could, with the most fascinating ease, place himself on the same level with a companion whom he desired to win, or for whom he felt a respect; and, hence, the spell which attracted and bound the heart of Swift. Profound as was Swift's sagacity, for which we do not think Sir Walter's expression, "the most keen and penetrating of mankind," too strong; his sincere and faithful regard for his friends blinded his perception of these defects; and notwithstanding the many things in his conduct which no biographer has satisfactorily explained, we are of opinion, that the respect he seems to have retained throughout for this most unworthy person is the greatest mystery of all. Human affections are clinging in their nature, and when they have any reality, will survive respect—this is an infirmity of mankind and not characteristic of the worst. But, in the latest portions of Swift's correspondence, the *prestige* of this splendid mountebank dwelt upon his understanding.

Such were the two great persons who occupy so large a space in Swift's life; and to whose friendship and confidence we believe him to have been fully admitted, notwithstanding the comment of lord Orrery. On lord Orrery's motives, for a representation* the tone of which is not friendly, we have not left ourselves space to dwell.

* Orrery's Remarks on the Life of Swift.

We shall, however, extract a passage of great force, beauty, and truth, from Sir Walter, in the spirit of which, we strongly agree. Speaking of lord Orrery's remarks, he says, "This is the language of one who felt that the adventitious distinctions of rank sunk before the genius of Swift; and who, though submitting to the degradation during the dean's life, in order to enjoy the honour of calling himself his friend, was not unwilling after the death of that friend, to indemnify himself for the humiliation which he had sustained in the course of their intercourse." Of Swift's most peculiar and characteristic manner of asserting an independence bordering on, and often transgressing the limit of equality among his superiors in rank and station, we shall, presently, select sufficient illustration.

We may now offer the promised illustration of the very characteristic temper manifested by Swift in this intercourse, and this will be best done by extracts, which will be as brief and more elucidatory than any continuous narration. The following extracts are from his *Journal to Stella*:—"Feb. 6, 1710,—Mr Harley desired me to dine with him again to-day, but I refused him; for I fell-out with him yesterday, and will not see him again till he makes me amends." Feb. 7.—"I was, this morning, early with Mr Lewis, of the secretary's office, and saw a letter Mr Harley had sent him, desiring to be reconciled; but I was deaf to all entreaties; I have desired Lewis to go to him, and let him know that I expected farther satisfaction. If we let these great ministers pretend too much, there will be no governing them. He promises to make me easy, if I would but come and see him; but I wont, and he shall do it by message, or I will cast him off. I will tell you the cause of our quarrel when I see you, and refer it to yourselves. In that he did something, which he intended for a favour, and I have taken it quite otherwise, disliking both the thing and the manner, and it has heartily vexed me; and all I have said is truth though it looks like jest; and I absolutely refused to submit to his intended favour, and expect farther satisfaction."

In a subsequent part of the *Journal*, he acquaints Stella with the cause of the quarrel, which was the offer of a bank note of fifty pounds.

He also refused the situation of chaplain, when offered to him by the same statesman.

"My lord Oxford—by a second hand—proposed my being his chaplain, which I, by a second hand, excused. I will be no man's chaplain alive."*

In his *Journal to Stella*,—April 1, 1711,—he says, "I dined with the secretary, who seemed terribly down and melancholy; which Mr Prior and Lewis observed, as well as I—perhaps something is gone wrong—perhaps there is nothing in it."

April 3,—"I called at Mr Secretary's to see what the d—ailed him on Sunday; I made him a very proper speech, told him I observed he was much out of temper; that I did not expect he would tell me the cause, but would be glad to see he was in better. And one thing I warned him of, never to appear cold to me, for I would not be treated like a school-boy; that I had felt too much of that in

* Swift's Works.

my life already (meaning from Sir William Temple); that I expected every great minister who honoured me with his acquaintance, if he heard or saw anything to my disadvantage, would let me know in plain words, and not put me in pain to guess by the change or coldness of his countenance or behaviour, for it was what I would hardly bear from a crowned head. And I thought no subject's favour was worth it; and that I designed to let my lord Keeper, and Mr Harley, know the same thing that they might use me accordingly. He took all right; said I had reason; vowed nothing ailed him, but sitting up whole nights at business, and one night at drinking; would have had me to dine with him and Mrs Masham's brother, to make up matters, but I would not; I don't know, but I would not. But, indeed, I was engaged with my old friend, Rolliston; you never heard of him before."

Sir Walter quotes from a tract which we have not seen, a most curious and graphic account, of what he terms one of Swift's levees: he considers it as likely to be accurate enough, and if so, it is most valuable, as it leaves not a shade of doubt upon the extreme height to which he could be transported by his natural arrogance of temper. This extract describes him "charging Patrick, his footman, never to present any service; giving notice that all petitions to him be delivered to him on the knee; sitting to receive them like a Triton in a scene of wreck, where, at one view, according to Patrick's fancy, in disposing of them, you might have seen half-shirts, and shams, rowlers, decayed night-gowns, snuff swimming upon gruel, and bottles with candles stuck in them, ballads to be sung in the street, and speeches to be made from the throne; making rules of his own to distinguish his company, which showed that he was greater than any of them himself. For, if a lord in place came to his levee, he would say, "Prithee, lord, take away that damned ch—mb—r—p—t, and sit down. But if it were a commoner only, or an Irish lord, he would remove the implement himself, and perhaps ask pardon for the disorder of his room, swearing that he would send Patrick to the devil, if the dog did not seem to be willing to go to him himself."

While with Sir Walter, we admit the general truth of this singular portraiture; we should observe that that is not unlikely to be the truth which belongs to a good caricature. It is not, at least, easy to reconcile its many lines of strong absurdity with the common sense and the keen perception of the ridiculous, which form part of Swift's character. It is a picture drawn by a hostile hand, and probably composed of those exaggerations which will always accompany the repetition of amusing incidents, which provoke wit even when there is not the addition of malice. But even a caricature has no effect when it represents nothing: we may fairly take this story, with the statements of Swift himself, and consider all as illustrative of the temporary exaltation of the towering pride of his nature, into a triumphant and overbearing arrogance. The concurrence of a great variety of statements, among which many are his own, seems to leave no evidence wanting of this. Its importance may excuse our extracting one more narration, which, though from one who was no admirer, has yet every claim to credit. It occurs in the diary of bishop Kennet,

and has been cited by most of Swift's biographers who have written since. "1713,—Dr Swift came into the coffee-house, and had a bow from everybody but me. When I came to the anti-chamber to wait before prayers, Dr Swift was the principal man of talk and business, and acted as a master of requests. He was soliciting the earl of Arran to speak to his brother, the duke of Ormonde, to get a chaplain's place established in the garrison of Hull for Mr Fiddes, a clergyman, in that neighbourhood, who had lately been in jail, and had published sermons to pay fees. He was promising Mr Thorold to undertake with my lord-treasurer, that according to his petition, he should obtain £200 per annum, as minister of the English church at Rotterdam. He stopped E. Gwynne, Esq., going in with the red bag to the queen, and told him aloud he had something to say to him from my lord-treasurer. He talked with the son of Dr Davenant to be sent abroad, and took out his pocket-book, and wrote down several things as *memoranda*, to do for him. He turned to the fire, and took out his gold watch, and telling him the time of the day, complained it was very late. A gentleman said, 'he was too fast,'—'how can I help it,' said the Doctor, 'if the courtiers give me a watch that won't go right.' Then he instructed a young nobleman that the best poet in England was Mr Pope (a papist), who had begun a translation of Homer into English verse, for which he must have them all subscribe; for, says he, 'the author shall not begin to print till I have a thousand guineas for^d him.' Lord-treasurer, after leaving the queen, came through the room, beckoning Dr Swift to follow him; both went off just before prayers."

On the subject of these narrations, Scott offers several just and admirable reflections, which are not, however, directed to the same end for which we have here adduced them. Among other remarks, he observes the apparent inconsistency of a contempt for rank, with the manner in which it was ostentatiously displayed; and infers (we think justly), a keen sense of the value of those advantages which he so strenuously affected to depreciate. While he affected to treat his superiors as equals, it is shown plainly enough that he would willingly look down in contempt on the rest of mankind. And the fact seems additionally confirmed and illustrated, when we recall to mind the small claim to respect of many of the most respected of his patrons and patronesses at this period. It is evident that lady Masham and her husband derived a lustre and dignity in his eyes from the reflection of the beams of royal favour: the same is plain in the case of Mrs Howard in a subsequent reign. Upon the *entire* of Swift's communication with courts and courtiers, the same sentiment of respect and jealousy is ever peeping out, like a purple vest concealed under the rags of a cynic. Scott adverts to an incident which we shall here present in Swift's own statement. "I dined to-day with Mr Secretary St John: I went to the court of requests at noon, and sent Mr Harley into the house to call the secretary, to let him know I would not dine with him if he dined late."* It is, indeed, plain enough that however hard it may have been to deceive Swift in other matters, it

* Journal to Stella. February, 1711.

was no difficult matter to fool him to the top of his bent in this. But pride itself, with all its overweening insolence and infirmity, undoubtedly bears a near relation to some of the highest of the social virtues: the contempt of inferiority will show itself in scorn for baseness, and strengthen though it cannot generate independence and integrity. But, in truth, we must confess, that we cannot see in the subject of this memoir, any strong exemplification of this truth: his pride, which we have here endeavoured to set in so broad a light, was entirely founded on the importance which he attached to his intellectual power: there was in it nothing of that refined sentiment which consists in what is becoming and fit, which discerns on all occasions the most delicate claim to respect, and is prevented by self-respect from intrusion. There is a veneration due to goodness and wisdom, a deference to authority, a tribute of honour to all excellence, and a respectful observance to social rank; the higher elements of civilized life, and their due recognition is a social claim not to be separated from the character of the gentleman.

But Swift had in reality not overrated his importance—a species of importance not now very easily comprehended. The war of faction, in modern times, conducted through the full and overflowing channels of public discussion and the cheap and flexible medium of the daily press, had then but one effective resource. The business of the newspapers was then mainly performed by tracts and pamphlets, which were anxiously looked for, and eagerly read. The general information of the public was far less, and political information was much less precise, detailed, and practical; and it may be considered as a consequence, that the arts of rhetoric, and the varied artifices of wit and talent had far more commanding effect. Under such conditions, it may well be supposed that one possessed of the wit, satire, mastery of style, and political intelligence of Swift, was likely to feel confident of his hold on ministers who stood so much in need of him. It is but reasonable that he should set the just value on his abilities, and resolve to exact the fullest return. Nor can it be considerably said, that his exaction was greater than the real importance of his services. A war undertaken to check the growing greatness and inordinate pretensions of the house of Bourbon; and the formidable encroachments of Louis XIV., which had already broken down and menaced entirely to destroy the balance of Europe, had been arrested by the victories of the allies under the command of Marlborough. And Louis was beginning to be as anxious for peace as he had been ambitious for conquest. This anxiety was yet, however, tempered by his desire to retain as much, and sacrifice as little as possible, and with this view attempts were made from time to time, to set on foot a negotiation in which the English were sure to lose the advantages which they had gained in the field—a liability which has become proverbial; and it will be no digression from our main purpose to observe, that this has been in a very great measure the result of that state of things which regulates the conduct of England, rather by the interests of parties than by those of the kingdom. When any one great party happens to become identified with any line of action, from the conduct of a war, to the smallest question of internal economy,

there will be a current of hostility immediately directed against that measure, and a popular feeling endeavoured to be excited. It will quickly be discovered, that all the wants and calamities which exist, or can be invented, are its results, and that all sorts of base and sordid interests are the real motives for pursuing it.

To carry the war to the successful termination which seemed now within the range of certainty, was unquestionably the most expedient and honourable course. It was also the interest of the whigs; and above all, it was the interest of the duke of Marlborough, whose avarice and grasping ambition afforded too ready a handle to his enemies.

To bring about a speedy peace, and to throw a character of unpopularity upon the war, and all who had been connected with it, was the interest and main policy of the tory leaders. And Swift's pen was the principal weapon in their hands. In a succession of periodical papers and pamphlets, of the most consummate skill and dexterity, for which his materials were afforded from those official sources at the command of his employers, he strengthened his party with every argument that wit, sophistry, and sagacious insight could supply; and the effects of eloquence and argument were extended and heightened by talents of a more popular description, humour and satire, circulated in every form of prose or doggerel verse, that malice or invention could suggest.

The whole or at least the greater part of those compositions are now to be found in his works;—it will be enough here to describe the general outline of the view which he put forward. Putting out of view the great and necessary objects of the war, with the real importance of the advantages which had been gained, he dexterously presented the representation of a war carried on to preserve the interests, and indicate the territorial rights of the allies, and in which the Dutch who were to be the sole gainers, contrived to throw the entire burthen upon England; so that while they urged the English government as if England alone were the party concerned, beyond the stipulated supplies in money and men, they themselves fell short of these engagements. In treating this argument he did not fail to dwell upon the exactions and the insulting arrogance of the Dutch, and on their uniform assumption of superiority over England in all their treaties; with this he painted the internal suffering and financial exhaustion of England, in consequence of a war which led to no useful end, and which would have been long before happily ended, but for the avarice and private ambition of Marlborough, who, he insinuated, was the only gainer by the contest.

Those and such views, disseminated through numerous channels, effected a considerable change in the feelings of the people, ever sure, when successfully turned, to go on with mechanical acceleration in the direction of the force impressed. The ministers were in consequence enabled to assume by degrees a bolder tone, and the peace which they had so much at heart was concluded, after many negotiations in which the anxiety which they had betrayed, was taken advantage of by the French, who would have been, in one more campaign, forced to submit to any terms.

During this anxious course of ministerial difficulty and intrigue, Swift gained an ascendancy which can only be explained by admitting the importance thus assigned to his efforts. On his part, he laboured with the most unremitting zeal, and may well have felt that he had earned the right to be free and independent—whatever they could eventually give was not, he felt, more than he had earned. That such freedom as he insisted upon maintaining with the ministers who thus profited by his abilities was in any way accessory to the disappointment of his ambition, we do not believe; for such is not the result which it would have had the effect of producing. All ranks and classes of men quickly conform to whatever convention they habitually act upon; and by admitting Swift to a level of confidential and familiar intimacy, a person endowed with his spirit and capacity soon filled the place of a friend and companion; those writers who have doubted the sincerity of this, have failed also to make due allowance for the influence of character. The claims of Swift were rather felt to rise than suffer any diminution from the privilege of intimacy, a truth perfectly understood by himself. His jealousy upon the subject of any offer of pecuniary reward, did not in fact arise either from disinterestedness or friendship, but from his sense of the importance of not suffering the existence of any understanding which might interfere with such expectations as belonged to this position. Conscious of services which he was not likely to underrate, he took the position which most distinctly fixed the true rank of his pretensions, and felt that the assent of his patrons was the admission of his claim. He refused fifty pounds, but hoped for a bishoprick. That Harley and St John fully entered into the same view, there can be no doubt. But through the whole of this administration, they laboured in vain to bring him into favour with queen Anne.

During the first years of this intercourse, while the tory administration was in its greatest strength, the life which Swift led in London was one of extreme and unceasing business and excitement, and more adapted to call forth all his powers, and gratify all the ruling propensities of his nature, than any interval he had previously experienced, or was ever to know again. With the high prospects to which his aspiring temper looked, the friendship of the noble, and the favour of the powerful, which gratified his fiery self-importance, the regard and esteem of the most gifted men of his age, and the general admiration and respect of the large circle of acquaintances to which he was thus favourably introduced; it was fully as much as his time afforded, to satisfy the pressing invitations of friendship, and the flattering importunities of the great men who needed his service and counsel. From his journal, we can through the whole time, with a precision not to be found in more important things, trace all his movements and tell the distinguished or noble house where he dined or refused to dine. But on days of state consultation, when the measures of government were to be privately discussed, he seldom was absent from the lord treasurer's, to meet there the trusty few. And from his note of these meetings, we learn how seldom anything of importance was transacted. Mr Harley was accused of being dilatory, and of suffering the interests of his party to be risked for want

of promptness and attention to business : it is well ascertained that the defect was inherent in his constitution and habits ; but at that time his fault was subservient to his purposes, as by that course of loitering policy he was endeavouring to maintain his own ascendancy in the cabinet. St John, while he exerted his whole energy upon those main lines of policy on which his party depended for power, had also his secrets. And whatever were the causes, Swift often found that he was himself the only person who seemed to be quite in earnest upon the business in hand. At first, and for a time, he was only a party to those affairs in which it was thought necessary for him to make some representation to the public, and when it was indispensable that he should be furnished with facts and heads of argument and reply, or that his pamphlet should be discussed previously to its being published. And on these occasions, his representation of the difficulty of bringing his great friends to a due hearing, reminds the reader of two pupils and their pedagogue who is more willing to teach than they are to learn. By degrees, frequent consultations and the necessary confidences attendant upon such, naturally extended his knowledge of state affairs, and at the same time increased his influence over the two statesmen, whose confidence he had thus obtained. The dissensions which very quickly arose between these ministers much increased this influence : though ostensibly labouring for common interests, they soon began each to have a secret object of his own, and to move in different orbits round their common centre in Mrs Masham's closet. We shall, further on, have occasion to go into the detail of their animosities ; it is here only necessary to observe, that in proportion as their mutual regard changed into enmity of the most rancorous kind, their common regard for Swift increased.

But though we see every reason to believe that Mr Harley omitted no opportunity to serve Swift's interests at court, nothing seemed likely to be effected in his favour ; the queen was prejudiced against him beyond the powers of any effort of entreaty. This discouraging circumstance was also the means of largely increasing his influence with the minister ; other compliances were thought due to so useful an ally whom they found it too difficult to reward in his own person ; his requests in behalf of others were seldom refused, and he was thus enabled to exercise the patronage of the crown for the benefit of his friends, and the advantage of literary men, and deserving persons of every class and party.

Such is the general description of Swift's position during this important interval of his life. In habits of intimate and friendly intercourse with a large circle who were distinguished for wit and literature, or who were of political importance in the tory ranks ; with the ministers he possessed a confidence, which, though it belonged in some measure to the mode of management then employed by administrations, was yet unparalleled in degree. Elated with this double importance, and the flatteries which attended upon it, and arrogant by his nature, he assumed a tone of dictatorial and often insolent superiority, such as has been graphically described in some of the extracts which we have already given, and which equally manifests itself from beginning to end in his journal ; though, of course, in the more mild and subdued

tone belonging to such a record. In the excitement of a flattering circle, a vain man is not fully conscious of the airs and graces of self-importance; but when he *speaks* of his own feelings, his language is subdued and chastened by his judgment and taste, and all that would offend is softened down into remoter intimations and a more moderate tone. Yet, in the perusal of this journal, an impression grows upon the reader, which is not much increased by the most extravagant of the foregoing anecdotes.

Among the friendships which he now formed, many were those whom his influence was instrumental to serve; of some, he laid the first foundation of their fortunes, for others he obtained relief from distress. Pope was at the time emerging into notice, and was indebted to his active and spirited exertions for a large increase to the subscribers for his translation of the *Iliad*, then in progress. With Addison and Steele he had formed an earlier intimacy, during his intercourse with the whigs: his alliance with the Tories, and the prominent part he took, now very much tended to alienate them from him. Addison was offended by the political infidelity of his friend, and these sentiments were increased by the extreme virulence and animosity, as well as the personal rancour with which Swift attacked those whom a little before he had professed to regard and follow. He did not perhaps think much allowance due to Swift's complaints of the neglect and insincerity of those great men, which was his real motive for turning against them, or for his high church principles which was his justification in his own eyes. And as Swift must thus have fallen in his esteem, a coolness was likely to arise—their meetings must have been embarrassed by the sense that there were subjects to be avoided on which they had ever been free, and that their common friendships and enmities had become inverted; so that no one could be praised or censured, or indeed mentioned between them, without a difference of opinion. Addison, little as he must have thought of the consistency or political integrity of his friend, yet saw his valuable qualities, his generosity, affection, and his vast and unrivalled powers, and not having himself much party fervour, avoided coming to any open or decided breach with him. With this feeling, perhaps, it was that he gave up the *Whig Examiner*, upon Swift's undertaking the Tory paper of the same name: which had previously run to thirteen numbers, and was continued by him from the 2d November, 1710, to June 14, 1711. The reflection with which Swift's first paper commences appears to have been suggested by some sense of the probable consequences on the feeling of his friends. By his change to the Tory party, he made, however, some valuable friends; and some of whom it is not easy to understand the value, farther than as they might be supposed to offer some immediate prospect of advantage. Among the first, may be reckoned Arbuthnot and Atterbury; among the latter, the Mashams. Prior was at the time in the employment of his patrons; Parnell he was the means of relieving from embarrassment, Dr Freind and Dr King were principal Tory writers, and had both preceded him in the *Examiner*. The illustrious dramatist Congreve, though a staunch whig, was protected by Swift from the deprivation of his post. Berkeley was indebted to

him for those favourable introductions which eventually led to his advancement.

There is perhaps nothing which may set his real importance in a more strong light, than the club which was during these eventful years formed by his means among some of the higher Tories, consisting of lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, Ormonde, Orrery, and other lords and commoners, who were the principal supporters of the ministers to the number of nineteen: they adopted the title and style of brethren, and met once a fortnight at a dinner provided by some one of the party. Among these, Swift himself was not the least important, and, as may be easily supposed, the most in earnest and authoritative: of this the following extract from his journal, gives a curious illustration:—"I walked before dinner in the Mall a good while, with lord Arran and lord Dupplin, two of my brothers; and then we went to dinner, where the duke of Beaufort was our president. We were but eleven to-day. We are now in all nine lords, and ten commoners. The duke of Beaufort had the confidence to propose his brother-in-law, the earl of Danby, to be a member; but I opposed it so warmly, that it was waived. Danby is not above twenty, and we will have no more boys, and we want but two to make up our number. I staid till eight, and then we all went away soberly. The duke of Ormonde's treat last week cost £20 though it was only four dishes, and four without a desert; and I bespoke it in order to be cheap, yet I could not prevail to change the house. Lord treasurer is in a rage with us for being so extravagant, and the wine was not reckoned good neither, for that is always brought by him that is president. Lord Orrery is to be president next week; I will see whether it cannot be cheaper, or else we will leave the house." The details concerning this union, may be found throughout the journal, in which he not only speaks of the members as brothers; but carries the fanciful tie into all its consequences, mentioning their children as his nephews, &c. Nor is it less amusing to find him protesting against the increase of their number, and in one instance, exerting himself against the admission of a nobleman of high rank.

Among the acquaintances whom he chiefly cultivated at this period, there were none who exercised a more strong or dangerous influence over his real affections, than one of which he did not, it is probable, himself fully estimate the power. Hurried as he was, among the current of earnest, laborious and absorbing interests and expectations, which belonged to the position which he held, his moments of relaxation were soothed and rendered cheerful by that species of companionship, which had of all others the most attraction for him,—that of a young girl of considerable spirit and talent, who seemed fully to appreciate his wit and the charm of his tongue, and to manifest all the signs of the liveliest admiration of his person. As he was at this time advanced to his forty-fourth year, this preference had the most irresistible claim upon his vanity. All that we have said with reference to his first attachments, may, with little modification, be applied to this. It was without any express design that he now entered upon the task of forming Miss Esther Vanhomrigh's mind, as he in former years had undertaken the improvement of the not less unfortunate

Miss Johnson; and it was doubtless by the same imperceptible transitions that familiarity stole into attachment. There were some differences,—Swift was always cautious, he was now grown doubly so; but Miss Vanhomrigh was far more impressible and passionate than Stella: a little friendly rebuke, not very strongly expressed, or very sincerely intended, had only the effect of kindling her fervid temperament, and on her part a violent attachment was formed, which only ended with her life. Such is the outline of a course of intimacy, which occupied more of Swift's leisure, than is at first sight very apparent. In his journals to Stella, in which he never fails to mention the place where he dines, Miss Vanhomrigh's house frequently occurs in a manner which indicates the close and almost domestic intimacy, yet at the same time so slightly and so much like an incidental occurrence, or a *pis aller* when other engagements failed, that the continual recurrence of the same slight intimation must have soon suggested a cause to the jealous acuteness of Stella: and the more, as there were not wanting occasional incidents, expressive of very close and intimate ties of some kind, which a knowledge of the writer might not find it difficult to interpret.

During the whole of this interval between 1710, and the time of his preferment in 1713, there can be no reasonable doubt, that one main object must have been present to the mind of Swift. Considering either his character or the rightful expectation due to his labours, or the professed regard of the ministers, his hopes must have been kept in a state of earnest activity. As the time went on, and added to these grounds of expectation, his anxiety increased, and many slight circumstances were discernible by his close and keen insight, which must have awakened uneasy reflections on the uncertainty of party ascendancy, and on the possibility of his great and laborious exertions being not merely lost, but leaving him to the mercy of a host of enemies. At first, he might with some complacency have assumed the part of disinterested friendship or patriotism, without the fear of being taken at his word: and there can be no doubt that he occasionally received such intimations, as must have quieted his anxiety, and led him on in the confidence which his opinion of the truth of his patrons was calculated to inspire. In conformity with these suggestions, we find him at first in several letters to his correspondents, assuming the tone of indifference and of disinterestedness; and after a time, expressing himself in the language of disappointment. He occasionally, too, remonstrates with his patrons, yet still rather assuming the tone of one who felt that derogatory imputations must arise from their neglect, than of one very solicitous in his own interests: a sentiment which doubtless he must have also felt. When they called him "Jonathan" and "brother Jonathan," he now began to hint that he supposed they would leave him "Jonathan as they found him." In his journal to Stella, he speaks cautiously in terms, but significantly enough, and tells her that he hopes his labours will "turn to some account," by which he adds, "I would make M D [Stella herself] and me easy, and I never desired more." This, by the way, is one of those expressions to which we have generally referred as helping to govern our construction of the understanding between himself and Stella. Again he

mentions, "I have been promised enough," and after, "to return without some mark of distinction would look extremely little, and I would likewise gladly be somewhat richer than I am." We should also infer as to the quantum of his expectations, that he did not desire to accept of a mere living,—as he mentions that he was given to understand that he could have one whenever he pleased from the lord-keeper. It may therefore be not without foundation concluded, that he set his mind upon a bishoprick, and that his friends said nothing to lower such a hope.

Whatever may have been the amount of their promises or his expectations, an incident, in the beginning of 1713, served to cast a more precise and less encouraging light upon his prospect. The bishopric of Hereford became vacant, and offered a fair trial of the truth or power of his friends. That it was their sincere desire to obtain this preferment for him, is not to be doubted, and is the conclusion of Sir Walter, who infers it from the coincidence of different notices which, though vague in point of expression, can yet be referred to nothing else. A letter from Bolingbroke, which seems to imply some previous communication, begins thus:—

" Thursday morning, two o'clock, Jan. 5, 1712-13.

" Though I have not seen, yet I did not fail to write to lord-treasurer. *Non tua res agitur*, dear Jonathan. It is the Treasurer's cause, it is my cause, it is every man's cause, who is embarked on our bottom, &c."

In a note on this letter, Sir Walter observes, "about this time it would seem that Swift was soliciting some preferment, and also that he thought the lord treasurer negligent of his interest." This remark was probably made in the body of Swift's works, (vol. xvi. p. 44,) before the writer had formed the specific inference, from which he quotes in the introductory memoir: both inferences are however valuable, and may be combined in the assumption, that Swift had put in his claims to the see of Herefordshire; the "foregone conclusion" to which this letter seems to point. It is just to mention that in one of his journals of nearly the same date, Swift says, "I did not write to Dr Coghill that I would have nothing in Ireland; but that I was soliciting nothing anywhere, and that is true;" but such a fact merely amounts to the very common evasion of those who desire to conceal the precise state of their affairs from strangers; there was a settled understanding which rendered direct applications superfluous, and Swift's adroitness could well seize on all occasions to spur the good will of his friends, without being importunate. This journal occurs in January 24th, 1713, and is dated one day earlier than that of lord Bolingbroke, already cited. The vacancy of the bishopric is likely to have occurred long after the letter to Dr Coghill.

There seems to be no doubt, that Mr Harley immediately applied to the queen, whose prejudices against Swift led her to refuse: but it is related that she was induced by the earnest solicitations of Swift's friends in court, to comply against her own inclination. But Swift had a powerful enemy at court: he had given mortal offence to the duchess of Somerset, who at this time held divided influence with Mrs

Masham over the royal favour, and she is supposed, through the entire interval of his sojourn in England, to have been the main impediment to his making any way at court. She now interposed her entire weight, and used every effort of suggestion and entreaty, to persuade the queen to retract. The effort was successful, and from this time it is not difficult to perceive the effect of disappointment in Swift's demeanour and communications. The history of this enmity, and of the manner in which it was shown in this instance, deserve a more particular detail. About two years before, Swift and his friends were alarmed by the influence which this duchess appeared to be acquiring at court; she was not amicably inclined to themselves, or to their party, and had been in fact advanced by the queen with a view to balance the influence of the tory favourite, through whom she feared being again reduced to the species of thralldom which she had already escaped from. Swift had the indiscretion to think of opposing this by ridicule, and wrote, "The Windsor Prophecy," in which he reproaches her with connivance at the murder of her former husband,* and ridicules her for having red hair. "It may be doubted," writes Sir Walter, "which imputation she accounted the most cruel insult, especially since the first charge was undeniable, and the second only arose from the malice of the poet;" to a court lady of that period, the vindictive recollections, *memores iræ*, of personal disparagement would be wronged by the comparison. The "prophecy" was printed, and on the eve of publication, when it was stayed by the earnest remonstrances of Mrs Masham, who better understood the effect which it would have. The impression was however brought to the club of brothers, and each took twelve copies for distribution, so that a circulation of nearly 200 copies in the most public circles, must have had all the effects of a publication. The consequence is depicted by Scott in his peculiar manner. From this time, by the effects of the enmity he had thus raised, "he remained stationary, like a champion in a tale of knighterrantry, when, having surmounted all apparent difficulties, an invisible, but irresistible force prevents him from the full accomplishment of the adventure." And Swift, fourteen years after, in a letter to Mr Tickel, adverts to it in a manner which tends to confirm this account, it "shows how indiscreet it is to leave any one master of what cannot without the least consequence be shown to the world. Folly, malice, negligence, and the incontinence of keeping secrets (for which we want a word), ought to caution men to keep the key of their cabinets."[†]

As we have already mentioned, the growing insecurity of an administration, in which the most bitter enmity and distrust had been for a long time gathering in secret, could not fail to be known to so clear and vigilant an observer, so intimate with the parties; and his assumed tone of dignified independence was compelled at last to give way to the more sincere anxiety, which he had so well suppressed. The re-

* She was daughter and sole heiress to the Earl of Northumberland. She was first married to lord Ogle, and next to Mr Thynne who was murdered by count Coningsmark's instigation, with the design to obtain her hand.

† Swift's Works, XIX. 356, Ed. 1814.

verse, to which he might be exposed by the casualty of a day, was too alarming to one who had assumed so high a style of conduct and bearing. "I will contract," he says, "no more enemies, at least I will not imbitter worse those I have already, till I have got under shelter, and the ministers know my resolution." Of lord Oxford he writes, "he chides me if I stay away but two days together—what will this come to? Nothing. My grandmother used to say,

"More of your lining,
Less of your dining."

At last three English deaneries became vacant, and Swift justly regarded the occurrence as offering a conclusive test of the ability of his friends to provide for him. It was on the 13th of April, that Swift received the intelligence from his friend Mr Lewis, of which the whole purport, with his reflections upon the occasion, may best be told in his own language. "This morning, my friend Mr Lewis came to me, and showed me an order for a warrant for three deaneries; but none of them to me. This was what I always foresaw, and received the notice of it better than he expected. I bid Mr Lewis tell my lord-treasurer, that I take nothing ill of him, but his not giving me timely notice, as he promised to do, if he found the queen would do nothing for me. At noon, lord-treasurer hearing I was in Mr Lewis' office, came to me, and said many things too long to repeat. I told him I had nothing to do but to go to Ireland immediately; for I could not with any reputation, stay longer here, unless I had something honourable immediately given to me. We dined together at the duke of Ormonde's. He then told me he had stopped the warrants for the deans, that what was done for me, might be at the same time, and he hoped to compass it to-night; but I believe him not. I told the duke of Ormonde my intentions; he is content Sterne should be a bishop, and I have St Patrick's."* As this entire passage was written on the evening of the very conversation to which it adverts; we can with certainty infer that the plan here mentioned was first proposed at this meeting. It is also evident from the following part of the same entry, that Swift was in some measure disappointed by the arrangement, which, instead of advancing him to one of the English deaneries, transferred him to Ireland, and at the same time made a distinction not very gratifying to his pride, by the promotion of Sterne,† whom he very wrongfully considered to have treated him with some slight, and to have inferior claims. The plan was perhaps mainly the suggestion of Harley. The duke had himself some objections which he afterwards waived in behalf of Swift. The point was however still to be settled with the queen, and in the interim, every expression which Swift has left, is such as to indicate affected equanimity and inexpressible impatience. On the next day he writes to say, that he would leave that end of the city (where he lodged to be near the court), as soon as the warrants of the deaneries

* Journal to Stella.

† Sterne had been on terms of the most friendly intimacy with him up to the time of his departure for England, and had but a very little before made him an offer of his purse through Stella, which Swift scarcely condescended to acknowledge. See Journal.

should come out; and adds, "lord treasurer told Mr Lewis, that it should be determined to-night; and so he will say a hundred nights," concluding with his plan of travelling on foot to Chester, on his way home. The following day, he writes, "lord Bolingbroke made me dine with him to-day; I was as good company as ever; and told me the queen would determine something for me to-night. The dispute is Windsor, or St Patrick's. I told him, I would not say for their disputes, and he thought I was in the right." This extract strongly indicates a state of mind bordering on exasperation; and it also dimly shows, what we are inclined to believe, that nothing would be more satisfactory to the subtle hypocrite with whom this conversation occurred, than Swift's going off in a fit of childish petulance, as it would be the best means of effecting a breach between him and lord Oxford, and securing his powerful alliance for himself, in the collision for which he was then preparing the way. The whole narration of the intervening days is equally full of significance; but we pass to the 18th, when the question was decided. From the remarks which dropped from Swift on this occasion, we shall only add one very expressive of the nature and form of his expectations, "Neither can I feel joy at passing my days in Ireland; and I confess I thought the ministry would not let me go," &c.* After all appeared settled, the duke of Ormonde objected to the promotion of Dr Sterne; with him Swift then exerted his powers of persuasion, and the duke, who perhaps desired no more than to place him under some obligation, consented. On the 23d, all the warrants were signed, and Swift was placed beyond the suspense which had tortured him through the interval; for as Scott, in a note on this part of his journal, observes, that he had become at this time fully aware of the mortal enmity he had provoked.

The remaining incidents are unimportant. He was annoyed to find that heavy deductions were to be made between the claims of Dr Sterne and the deanery house, the first-fruits and the patent; in all amounting to a thousand pounds. We have only here to add, that in the short interval between this preferment and his departure for Ireland, lord Oxford and Mrs Masham made another strenuous but unsuccessful effort to obtain something more suited to his expectations. The fact was denied by the insidious Bolingbroke, whose authority we should receive with many scruples, and whose dislike for Oxford amounted to perfect hatred. We shall have quickly to return to the differences between these rival politicians, and the circumstances which attended the decline of their power: these, though to some extent interwoven with the incidents of previous transactions, we have reserved for the summary statement which best suits our space.

After a long and wearisome journey, Swift arrived in Ireland. There are different statements as to his reception, which lord Orrery mentions as unfavourable in the extreme, and is contradicted by Sheridan and Delany. We must refer the curious to their accounts; the first wrote in no kindly spirit, the others were his most attached friends; the truth is probably between them. Swift was certainly then unpopular; there was no class for whose dislike some reasons might

* Works, iii. 208.

not be given. With the whigs he was an apostate; with the dissenters a high churchman; among the clergy, if any were spiritually minded, his character was marked by many obvious defects; to such, his libels, levity, grossness, haughtiness and eccentricity, together with the public reputation of an ambitious and worldly disposition, would render his elevation unacceptable; among the crowd of ecclesiastical persons, mostly then composed of men of small understandings and moderate attainments either in piety or knowledge, most would look with an eye of jealousy on the rapid elevation of the poor vicar of Laracor; for men of mean understanding are apt to be affected by a strong wish to think slightly of the powers which they do not possess, and cannot even fully comprehend; thus, if we could even venture to imagine such a thing as a bishop not very adequately provided with brains, there can be little doubt that he would look with supreme contempt on a very clever curate, and feel highly scandalized if some inconsiderate lord-lieutenant should lift him above his humble level to a deanery.

But Swift met with far more legitimate dislike from those with whom his promotion brought him into contact. We have, we trust, dwelt enough on his haughty and imposing manner, to enable the reader to feel at once how such a high and authoritative address as was become natural to him, would be likely to please persons over whom he came to claim authority, or to exact rights; the allowance of his superiors or friends, or the partiality of those whom his wit pleased, and his attentions flattered, might overlook much rudeness and petulance, which was not likely to meet the same tolerance from the prebends and official functionaries with whom he had now to cope: there is always a wide difference to be found between those who conceive themselves to be condescending to their acknowledged inferiors, and those who, in dealing with a haughty superior, have a little dignity of their own to support. Such a beginning was pregnant with annoyances, and Swift spent a harassing fortnight in arrangements connected with the entrance upon his new preferment, which he afterwards, in an epistle in imitation of Horace, describes to his patron lord Oxford.

———all vexations,
 Patents, instalments, abjurations,
 First-fruits and tenths, and chapter treats,
 Dues, payments, fees, demands, and cheats,
 The wicked laity's contriving
 To keep poor clergymen from thriving.

There is also some evidence of the public opinion at the same time existing, as to his merits, in a ballad which Scott quotes from the works of Jonathan Smedly, and mentions that it was fixed on the door of the cathedral on the day of his instalment.

“ To-day, this temple gets a Dean,
 Of parts and fame uncommon,
 Used both to pray, and to profane,
 To serve both God and mammon.

When Wharton reigned, a whig he was;
 When Pembroke, that's dispute, Sir;
 In Oxford's time, what Oxford pleased,
 Non-con, or Jack, or neuter.

This place he got by wit and rhyme,
 And many, was most odd;
 And might a bishop be in time,
 Did he believe in God."
 &c. &c.

To these vexations, Swift opposed a haughty and scornful front of resistance, and provoked a strong spirit of opposition in the chapter; who were joined by the archbishop of Dublin. He was thus thwarted and baffled in many of the arrangements which he endeavoured to make for the promotion of his friends. After a fortnight thus spent, he retired with feelings of gloom and dissatisfaction to Laracor, from which place he wrote to Miss Vanhomrigh. "I staid but a fortnight in Dublin, very sick, and returned not one visit of a hundred that were made me; but all to the dean, and none to the doctor. I am hiding here for life, and I think I am something better. I hate the thoughts of Dublin, and prefer a field-bed, and an earthen floor, before the great house there, which they say is mine."* In the same letter he mentions, "I design to pass the greatest part of the time I stay in Ireland, here in the cabin where I am now writing; neither will I leave the kingdom till I am sent for, and if they have no further service for me, I will never see England again. At my first coming, I thought I should have died with discontent, and was horribly melancholy while they were installing me; but it begins to wear off and change to dulness." The dean retained Laracor and Rathbeggan, which he had at first some intention of resigning, and also designed to recommend Dr Raymond as his successor. Upon a nearer view, however, and under the influence it may be supposed, of the various exactions attendant on his promotion, he changed his purpose.

Among the numerous small vexations which depressed or disquieted his gloomy and irritable spirit, there was one which must have been deeply felt: he was inextricably entangled between two ladies, for each of whom he entertained a strong affection, and who both, as he was well aware, reckoned on him as a future husband. How such a sense must have corroded his better feelings, the reader can easily conceive; and it must be evident enough that the reunion with Stella must have been attended with feelings more nearly allied to remorse than satisfaction. Such meetings are the happiest incidents which human life affords: but Swift had abjured all the ways of peace, and the blessings of that home intercourse of affection which is the only infusion of sunshine upon the clouds and tedious trials of life.

In this gloomy retirement, it was with joy that the Dean received a summons from the tory administration, many of the members and friends of which were urgent for his instant return to London, where the dissensions between Oxford and St John had arisen to a height which threatened to shake their party to the foundation.

* Letter dated Laracor, 8th July, 1713. Works, vol. xix. p. 410.

We have already given a sketch of the character of Swift's two great friends, so far as was necessary to possess the reader with a more full sense of his remarkable progress in their regards. We must now revert to the consideration of their several histories, and of their mutual intimacy and opposition, as best explaining much of the following events which we are obliged to notice. Mr Harley, (at this time the earl of Oxford,) had been bred a dissenter, and had first attained notice under the auspices of the whigs; and after having filled the office of speaker in the house of commons, was made secretary of state by the duke of Marlborough. He was however soon found to be an unsafe and perfidious ally, and as the underhand intrigues which he carried on with the tories could not long escape the penetration of his own party, he was dismissed from office: on which he went over to the tories. At that time he was deeply engaged in that system of practice upon the feebleness and the resentments of the queen, by a secret intercourse contrived between himself and Mrs Masham, which was in the course of a little time, and with the help of circumstances which we have already mentioned, the means of bringing in that party, with himself at its head.

Mr St John may here be briefly described as the *élève* of Harley, and as the companion of the conduct and changes here described. Like him he was bred up among the dissenters; like him he availed himself of their influence, and turned against them when they had served his purpose; like him he was moderate in his party feelings; because he was like him devoid of sterling principle; and he followed his steps through the crooked ways that led to court favour and political power. But here the parallel ends. Mr Harley had been designed by nature to ornament private life, and to be the companion or patron of men of genius and virtue. Circumstances had led him into unclean paths, where he degenerated into an intriguer and a courtier, and rose to power by the only means available to mediocrity. His vices were as moderate as his virtues, and those virtues had in them a reality; his small craft and political meanness were set off by social affections: and even in his selfish aims, there were lengths at which he felt himself checked by the very principles which he had overlooked; there were some lengths in profligacy to which he was reluctant to go. He still would keep within the bounds of self-justification, which must indeed be admitted to be pretty spacious. St John was from the beginning indifferent to all human considerations, but the attainment of that advancement which his vast and splendid capabilities entitled him to expect. His principles, his opinions and rules of conduct, his virtues and vices, demand no refined analysis to appreciate their respective measure, or their mutual relation; he was a thorough profligate, and alike devoid of private or public virtues. We need not take the trouble to weigh some indications of kindly feeling toward Swift and Pope, or his French wife, to whom we believe he was not unkind. He respected wit and genius, which it was his interest to have on his side; he was not without some animal affection for those whom he thought fit to cultivate; and this is allowance enough. Within our own times, he has been made the theme of some very severe invectives, in the full sense of which, we believe all right-minded persons agree, and also of some pane-

gyric of which we have been unable to apprehend any foundation in reality, unless great and powerful abilities can be allowed to obtain the respect only due to superior goodness: of his powers we have already said enough. Having been mainly introduced to public life, under the countenance of Mr Harley, he quickly became distinguished by powers far superior to his master, and having been mainly instrumental in the conclusion of a dishonourable treaty, which was more conformable to the interest of his party, than to the honour of England, he began to feel that he might take an independent course, and supplant lord Oxford in the favour of queen Anne and her waiting-women. This respectable ambition was additionally stimulated by motives full as worthy. When lord Oxford obtained his earldom, St John put in his claim to a similar elevation; for this, neither the duration nor the amount of his services were felt to be adequate, and lord Oxford would have refused, if he did not stand too much in need of his abilities and in fear also of his fierce, intriguing and vindictive disposition. The rank of a viscount rather seemed an admission than a satisfaction of his claim. His pride was irritated rather than appeased, and he was evidently roused to seek matter for additional discontent. Lord Oxford received the order of the garter; and as there were some further vacancies, Bolingbroke insisted upon one. It was as a matter of course refused, and he at once gave way to his animosity. From this he pursued with steady determination to overturn the administration of lord Oxford, and obtain the government of the cabinet into his own hands.

Such is a very general outline of the history of this ministry. Swift, who never was made privy to the private baseness of his friends, and who gave them credit for those ostensible motives, of which it is always easy to find enough for the justification of any wickedness that is cunningly pursued, attributed their disagreements to motives and resentments far less deeply seated than the actual ones: in the short sketch which he has left of their quarrels, he assigns a rather slight occasion. After relating at some length the account of Guiscard's attempt to assassinate Mr Harley in the privy council, he writes, "I have some very good reasons to know, that the first misunderstanding between Mr Harley and Mr St John, which afterwards had such unhappy consequences upon the public affairs, took its rise during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr St John affected to say in several companies, 'that Guiscard intended the blow against him,' which if it were true, the consequence must be that Mr St John had all the mint, while Mr Harley remained with nothing but the danger and the pain."* Such insinuations must certainly have rankled in Mr Harley's mind, and not the less that they perhaps had some foundation in truth: but before this; he had probably felt that St John was to be feared and distrusted, and distrust was no small portion of Mr Harley's genius. Swift too was long aware of the repulsion which operated between them, and he had experience of Mr St John's efforts to prejudice his rival with himself. The enmity which had long been partially suppressed by prudence, at last forced

* Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry, Works, vol. iii. 251.

its way. Bolingbroke had completed the mine under his adversary's feet, and was prepared to fire the guilty train. Oxford felt the whole danger. Their friends, who knew nothing of the reality, attributed their quarrels to pique, and temper. Swift had an intuition of the truth, but it was no more; he came over in the hope of effecting a reconciliation on the ground of mutual interest and common danger. It is supposed that his influence was at first successfully exerted; but we are disposed to think it was only because the crisis had not come,—they had yet some common points of interest, and their common enemies were watching them with unremitting vigilance. The scale of their destinies was suspended on the favour of the queen and lady Masham. Swift brought them together, and exacted exterior courtesy, while he once more entered into the field of party politics and fought their battles with his usual spirit and effect. With this view he wrote several papers of great effect,—one of which contained an attack on the Scottish peers, so very offensive, that they took the matter up with considerable animosity, and the printer and bookseller were taken into custody. The bookseller declared his ignorance; the printer refused to answer. This latter was Mr John Barber, who afterwards became eminent as lord mayor of London, and is known by his long correspondence with Swift, which was continued through their lives, and is to be found in the published correspondence of Swift. Every one well knew who the real author was, and the implacable hate of Wharton took the occasion for revenge: he exclaimed that the house had no concern with these persons; that the only object was the discovery of the “villanous author,” and proposed that the printer should be set free from the consequences of any self-crimination. This having been Mr Barber's plea, the finesse of Harley warded the well-aimed blow, by directing a prosecution, which of course disqualified Barber as an evidence. The Scottish peers, justly indignant at this frustration of their resentment, went up to the queen, headed by the duke of Argyle, and demanded a proclamation for the discovery of the author: £300 were offered by the queen's command, and Swift was for some time in suspense and danger: he relied however on the fidelity of Barber, and the protection of Oxford. This minister indemnified the printer and bookseller with £150 sent through the hands of Swift himself.

As it is our anxious desire to preserve our limits, we shall here, as in the former interval, abstain from the detail of his political labours, which would demand copious digressions into English and continental history. His angry correspondence with Steele is to be found among the rest of his published correspondence; and as Steele is on our list, may be brought forward again to less disadvantage. Swift had also to contend with bishop Burnet, whom he attacked in a paper, entitled a “Preface to the bishop of Sarum's introduction to the third volume of his History of the Reformation.” This is described by Sir Walter as an ironical attack and as treating the bishop as one whom the author delights to insult. The description is substantially just, but the irony is not sustained through a single paragraph: the intent is evident enough; but Swift's eagerness to find fault, and to fling imputation (and with this perhaps the want of those prominent points which irony demands), quickly alter his purpose; the ridicule resembles that of a

wit, who becomes angry and throws off the mask of playfulness, to exchange smart sayings for abuse.

In the mean time, there was a rapid progress of incident and event, which contributed to weaken the tories, and to accelerate the disgrace of lord Oxford. Many circumstances had contributed to propagate fears for the protestant succession; the underhand negotiations of most of the tory leaders, and even of some of the whigs with the pretender, were too numerous to be quite concealed, and it would be difficult to prove beyond further question, that these private intrigues were not countenanced by the queen. It is placed beyond doubt that both Oxford and Bolingbroke took part in them; the former cautiously and insincerely, and rather for his own security; the latter thoroughly and devotedly. Oxford, whose entire conduct was dilatory, and a perpetual observance of the wind of accident, was so far betrayed by appearances, that although he was by principle for the settlement, he not only transmitted his advice to the Pretender, but took some daring steps which contributed very materially to his own defeat. Of this nature was his motion, "for the further security of the protestant succession, by making it high treason to bring any foreign troops into the kingdom." The real drift of such a motion, unnecessary against the Pretender, and only efficient against friends to the succession, was at once detected; and the oversight was taken advantage of by Bolingbroke himself. The consequence of many such indications was, a large secession from the strength of the tory party.

If lord Oxford was thus weakened by the imputation of Jacobitish designs, he was not less so, by a more just accusation of the contrary disposition. It was early discovered by the emissaries and friends of the Pretender that he confined himself to vague promises, and that he no less kept up a secret understanding with the ministers of the Hanoverian court. He thus became an object of contempt and suspicion to every party. His conduct as to the schism act in which he sacrificed the interest of the dissenters, his only remaining friends, left him bare to the tempest of party enmity and scorn—he had the folly or the honesty to incur the enmity of lady Masham, by refusing a grant of public money in her favour, and when there was no one to say a word for him, when his finesses were understood by all, when his delays, demurs, and hesitations, were traced to incapacity and want of purpose or honesty, when his obstinate reserve was recognised as jealousy of power and love of artifice, it was easy for his equally cunning, but far bolder and more able rival, to shake to dust the hollow structure of his favour.

But to Swift, the whole of this concatenation was not apparent: he was unacquainted with the private perfidy of Bolingbroke, or the doubling play and impotent finesse of Oxford: he saw their power was crumbling, and that it demanded vigour and union to make head against the leagued hostility of the whigs, and those who were daily added to their ranks; and he saw with feelings bordering on despair, the growing enmity of those on whose cordial understanding he considered all to be dependent. Under these circumstances, his conduct was generous, and as far disinterested as can be supposed, where his interests were in point of fact involved. His friendship with his first patron increased with the de-

cline of his power, and with the dangers by which he was surrounded: as he had not been servile in prosperity, so he was incapable of falling off in adversity. In vain Bolingbroke endeavoured by every art of insinuation, to detach him from his friend, and to win him to his own service,—Swift would only understand what was honest, and laboured to promote a union which was already dissolved. A letter written many years after to Oxford's son and successor, gives an interesting account of the last effort which he made—it may serve here as a summary of the whole affair. He writes upon the subject of his history of the last four years of the queen, which introduces the following narrative, "Your lordship must needs have known, that the history you mention of the last four years of the queen's reign was written at Windsor, just upon finishing the peace; at which time, your father and my lord Bolingbroke had a misunderstanding with each other, that was attended with very bad consequences. When I came to Ireland to take this deanery (after the peace was made), I could not stay here above a fortnight, being recalled by a hundred letters to hasten back, and to use my endeavours in reconciling those ministers. I left them the history you mention, which I had finished at Windsor, to the time of the peace. When I returned to England, I found their quarrels and coldness increased. I laboured to reconcile them as much as I was able. I contrived to bring them to my lord Masham's at St James's: my lord and lady Masham left us together. I expostulated with them both, but could not find any good consequences. I was to go to Windsor next day with my lord-treasurer. I pretended I had business that prevented me, expecting they would come to some * * * * But I followed them to Windsor, where my lord Bolingbroke told me that my scheme had come to nothing. Things went on at the same rate—they grew more estranged every day—my lord-treasurer found his credit daily declining. In May, before the queen died, I had my last meeting with them at my lord Masham's. He left us together; and therefore I spoke very freely to them both, and told them, "I would retire, for I found all was gone." Lord Bolingbroke whispered me, "I was in the right;" your father said, "all would do well." I told him, "that I would go to Oxford on Monday, since I found it was impossible to be of any use." I took coach to Oxford on Monday, went to a friend in Berkshire, there staid until the queen's death; and then to my station here, where I staid twelve years. I never saw my lord your father afterwards."

Swift, according to his determination, left London on a visit to a friend, the reverend Mr Gery, at Upper Letcombe, where he remained for some weeks, not perhaps without some hopes of being recalled by some favourable occasion, and filled with fears, anxieties, and expectations which, to some extent, may have rendered him insensible to the gloomy and monotonous frugality and seclusion of his host's abode. At no time had his own prospects appeared to such advantage, or drest in more hopeful array, than in the little interval that consigned him to Dublin and discontent, for the remainder of his life. His friendship with Oxford had grown to the most perfect affection and even confidence to the fullest extent that Oxford's character admitted; and he was the counsellor of his private, as well as his public affairs. There

could be indeed no doubt that if affairs were restored, and the queen's life continued, but that all the obstacles to his further promotion must have given way; as the first effort of Swift's friends would have been to reconcile him with the queen and her favourites. We should also have observed what Sir Walter mentions upon the most sufficient authority, that all the most important affairs of Ireland were entirely transacted according to his advice. But the tide of his prosperity was already on the ebb: a new conjunction of events and circumstances, most of which were already within the reach of sagacious conjecture, was fast approaching to verify, in Swift's instance, the *dictum* of Shakspeare, and consign the rest of his life to a voyage, "bound in shallows and in misery." He did not however know the full sum of evil circumstances which affected the prospects of his party; the real designs of Bolingbroke—the secret intrigues with the Pretender, in which all his principal friends were more or less involved, were yet secrets to him: he only was enabled to perceive dissensions and divisions which appeared still capable of being reconciled, only because he attributed them to causes more slight and transient in their nature, than those from which they actually proceeded. Ignorant of the deep and fatal mine which the perfidious Bolingbroke was actually on the point of exploding under the feet of Oxford's administration, he only saw the madness and folly of a disunion in which he saw the ruin of their common party, and could not believe that they would be the fools to persist in so destructive an error. He also saw the rapidly rising influence of Bolingbroke; but not being aware of its real direction, he only looked upon him as the remaining stay and support of a declining cause: and thus indulging himself secretly in the hope of daily hearing that matters had assumed a more favourable turn, he flattered himself still with the expectation of being called to town to fight the battle of his party, and to receive the reward of his exertions. In the mean time, however, his best feelings were tormented by daily accounts of the actual course of affairs. The dissensions between his friends grew more virulent from day to day: their party was weakening by divisions, while the precarious condition of the queen's health gave a fatal importance to these discouraging symptoms. In the midst of all this darkness and dismay, the star of Bolingbroke alone seemed to increase in magnitude and light; and while his rival, Oxford, grew more dilatory and despised, he appeared to advance in favour and influence, and to grow in vigour and promptitude. The struggle between them was not at this time many days protracted: while Swift was thus oscillating between hope and fear, and waiting the event of circumstances, he received the afflicting intelligence that his friend lord Oxford was insulted by the queen and Mrs Masham, and compelled to resign. "On the next day," Mr Lewis writes to Swift, "the queen has told all the lords the reasons of her parting with him; that he neglected all business; that he was very seldom to be understood; that when he did explain himself, she could not depend on the truth of what he said; that he never came to her at the time she appointed; that he often came drunk; lastly, to crown all, that he behaved himself towards her with bad manners, indecency, and dis-

respect, &c.*" On the night of the 27th, a cabinet council was held, to settle who were to be the commissioners for the treasury—the queen and Mrs Masham having, it is supposed, formed the scheme of governing for the future without a minister, a plan encouraged by Bolingbroke, who would thus have the real control of everything. The council could not agree, and the discussion was carried on with such violence till a late hour of the night, that the queen's head became affected with a complaint which terminated her life in a few days. In this interval, Bolingbroke's activity was not asleep; and he entered with the vigour and talent of his character into measures, which if the queen should but hold out only a few weeks, would in all probability have restored the Stuart line. His plan for a ministry was as follows: he was himself to retain the seals, to continue secretary for foreign affairs, and put the treasury in commission; a set of known Jacobites were to fill the other cabinet offices,—the duke of Ormonde and Buckingham, Atterbury, lord Harcourt and the earl of Mar, all of whom he hoped to find subservient to his aims, and who were deeply engaged in the same plot which was the main end of his entire policy. During the few days which he continued in office, he showed an activity and address, which would soon perhaps have put the expectations of the Jacobites in a prosperous train. Among other acts, he at once obtained for Swift the order for a thousand pounds, about which lord Oxford had trifled so long. He was most eager in his efforts to bring back to town the most able of his supporters; and the most pressing, but seemingly undesigned letters from him, appear among those which poured in at this time on the dean's retreat at Letcombe. But an unseen arm was raised already to dash all those cobwebs of state policy: the queen was on her deathbed; and some extracts from these letters may show the anxious working of the breasts of those about her, and throw some added light on those topics on which we have too slightly and superficially glanced. On the 29th of July, lady Masham wrote a letter to the dean, in which she says of lord Oxford, "I was resolved to stay till I could tell you the queen had got so far the better of the dragon [lord Oxford], as to take her power out of his hands. He has been the most ungrateful man to her, and to all his best friends, that ever was born. I cannot have so much time now to write all my mind, because my dear mistress is not well, and I think I may lay her illness to the charge of the treasurer, who for three weeks together was teasing and vexing her without intermission, and she could not get rid of him till Tuesday last," [the 27th.] She then remonstrates against his expressed intention of returning to Ireland, and adds, "I know you take delight to help the distressed; and there cannot be a greater object than this good lady, who deserves pity. Pray, dear friend, stay here, and do not believe us all to throw away good advice, and despise everybody's understanding, but their own," &c. Among these letters there are some from Mr Lewis, who appears to have formed a more just estimate of the conduct of the persons chiefly concerned, than most of the other correspondents: he speaks with affection and tenderness of lord Oxford,

* Swift's Works, vol. xvi. 191.

while he sees the entire littleness of his conduct, and mentions that he had offered to serve on any terms, and that he had met the insults of the different classes of low people about the queen with fawning servility; adding in one place his conviction that his intellects were gone, "I have long thought his parts decayed, and am more of that opinion than ever."* He also, a little after, shows the impartiality of his judgment in speaking of his rival, "But sure the earth has not produced such monsters as Mercurialis [Bolingbroke]." On the 31st, letters came informing Swift of the queen's death, and the successive accounts followed of all the numerous and minute circumstances of the break up that followed. It is impossible for us to enter on this detail, so as to preserve the almost romantic interest of the crisis; for such it was. The whole of the real movements of the late administration had been to favour the pretender—the most active of the Jacobite party had been in the possession of the whole efficient powers of the realm—the queen was not disinclined to the promotion of the same objects, but simply endeavoured to keep her own conscience free by a little flimsy self-disguise—the best affected of the Hanoverian party had no direct power of interference; and many who might have exerted a salutary influence were rendered so doubtful of the issue of events, that some were repressed by fear of being involved in the uncertain result, and some endeavoured to make friends of both sides. The death of Anne was the moment of decision: though the whole feeling of the nation was for the Settlement, the Jacobite party were up in array, and at their posts—a breath might have turned the scale.

But happily the recent struggle in the very bosom of the tories had spread doubt and disunion among them. Suspicions of the truth had sprung up, and as Jacobitism was only the disease and not the element of that party, the tainted portion found itself in a measure severed from the sound; the Jacobites could not rely on the ranks in the strength of which they had prospered. The leading whigs had been on the watch—they were men of ability, and their decision and promptitude saved the nation. It does not belong to our present purpose to describe how the Jacobite leaders met, unprepared for the emergency for which they had long been laying their trains; how some doubted and some recoiled, and none, in their first surprise, knew what to do; or how, before they had time to look round and avail themselves of their position, the whig leaders stepped in, and by one bold and decided move which none had the courage to gainsay, took the reins out of the hesitating hands of Bolingbroke and his faction; and gave the word to which the whole nation responded with a readiness which silenced the meditated treason. These details have recently been added to the page of regular history by lord Mahon, to whose most able work we have been much indebted in forming our views on the entire history of this and the following reigns; and we take this opportunity to express our obligation the more gladly, as the very summary glance which we are compelled to take of English history, has prevented any precise citation of his lordship's

* Swift's Works, xvi. 195.

pages.* We may add, that the perusal of the correspondence published as an appendix to the history here adverted to, has decided all the opinions which we have expressed as to the baseness and dishonesty of every one of the tory ministry. And those writers who have asserted that Swift was never entirely in their confidence, though it was inviously said, and with something of a different intent, are after all no more than just. While his writings clearly establish his claim to a thorough acquaintance with all that concerned those measures of administration on which the tory policy rested as its basis, the ministers had individually an internal system of motives and designs connected with their private hopes and aims, which they strictly concealed from one whom they knew too well, to hope that he would countenance an undisguised departure from the most common principles of political honesty.

One circumstance must not be here omitted. During the brief interval of Bolingbroke's triumph, while he was soliciting the return of Swift to London, and opening new hopes of promotion to tempt him to come to his assistance, the genuineness of Swift's friendship, and the independence of his spirit, were shown to great advantage. He had sent up a pamphlet designed for the service of the tottering administration to Barber—this, lord Bolingbroke obtained possession of, and unceremoniously proceeded to retouch it for his own special purposes; but on hearing the circumstance, Swift peremptorily insisted on the return of the manuscript. In the same trying moment, when ambition and Bolingbroke were inviting him again into that field where all his hopes yet lay, he received a letter from his friend, the fallen Oxford, inviting him to "fling away some on one who loves you;" Swift without hesitation chose the nobler and less alluring track, and immediately prepared to follow his friend into his retirement. The events which followed thickly upon each other, interrupted his intention, and consigned his unfortunate patron to the tower, where he continued till he was released by another turn among the currents of political faction.

We may now follow Swift into Ireland, and trace his conduct in scenes of a very different kind. Ignorant of the extent to which his friends had really implicated themselves, he urged them up to the fatal breach, and offered to stand forward boldly in their cause. As Dr Arbuthnot, who better knew their real condition observed, "Dean Swift keeps up his noble spirit; and, though like a man knocked down, you may still behold him with a stern countenance, and aiming a blow at his adversaries."

In Dublin he had now to face a heavy storm of insult, menace, and persecution. The whigs had completed the overthrow of their opponents by a sweeping imputation of Jacobitism, and the followers were involved in the disgrace of their leaders. The nearest friend and adviser of Oxford who was imprisoned on such a charge, and of Bolingbroke, a fugitive and delinquent confessed, could not but be looked on by the Irish whigs, with horror and suspicion. In Ireland, from the

* History of England, by Lord Mahon.

frequency with which the worst results of disaffection had been made familiar, the fears and jealousies of party ever took a more active and excited form. The same events which in England might have but changed a set of men, in Ireland would have deluged the country with massacre; and hence the violence of the Irish protestants—with them, it was not an affair of policy, but of personal safety and property. How far such feelings, arising from such causes, are liable to pass the line of reasonable foundation, need not be considered; so it was, (and to some extent is,) that in Ireland political sentiments were always liable to be carried to the most violent extremes of personal animosity. It was enough that he came over with the suspicion of a leaning to the pretender, to render Swift the object of dislike and animosity. He could only be seen as the friend of Bolingbroke, who had thrown off all reserve and resigned himself to the Stuart schemes, with a publicity that showed an utter disregard of the safety of those friends he had left in these kingdoms. All the resources of libel and calumny were now exhausted on the Dean—his enemies took the occasion to insult him in the streets—his former friends deserted him. It will be, if not the most concise, at least the most interesting way of exemplifying these circumstances, to offer an instance which may be given in his own language, being a petition which he made to the house of lords, upon a most wanton insult from lord Blaney.

“The humble Petition of Jonathan Swift, D.D., and Dean of the Cathedral of St Patrick's, Dublin.

“Most humbly sheweth,

“That your petitioner is advised by his physicians, on account of his health, to go often on horseback; and there being no place in winter so convenient for riding as the strand toward Howth, your petitioner takes all opportunities that his business or the weather will permit, to take that road: That in the last session of parliament, in the midst of winter, as your petitioner was returning from Howth, with his two servants, one before and the other behind him, he was pursued by two gentlemen in a chaise, drawn by two high-mettled horses in so violent a manner, that his servant, who rode behind him, was forced to give way, with the utmost peril of his life; whereupon your petitioner made what speed he could, riding to right and left above fifty yards, to the full extent of the road; but the two gentlemen driving a light chaise, drawn by fleet horses, and intent upon mischief, turned faster than your petitioner, endeavouring to overthrow him: That by great accident your petitioner got safe to the side of a ditch, where the chaise could not safely pursue; and the two gentlemen stopping their career, your petitioner mildly expostulated with them; whereupon one of the gentlemen said, ‘Damn you, is not the road as free for us as for you?’ and calling to his servant who rode behind him, said, ‘Tom,’ (or some such name,) ‘is the pistol loaden with ball?’ To which the servant answered, ‘Yes, my lord,’ and gave him the pistol. Your petitioner often said to the gentleman, ‘Pray sir, do not shoot, for my horse is apt to start, by which my life may be endangered.’ The chaise went forward, and your petitioner took the opportunity to stay behind. Your petitioner is

informed, that the person who spoke the words above mentioned, is of your lordship's house, under the style and title of lord Blaney; whom your petitioner remembers to have introduced to Mr Secretary Addison, in the earl of Wharton's government, and to have done him other good offices at that time, because he was represented as a young man of some hopes, and a broken fortune. That the said lord Blaney, as your petitioner is informed, is now in Dublin, and sometimes attends your lordship's house. And your petitioner's health still requiring that he should ride, and being confined in winter to go on the same strand, he is forced to inquire from every one he meets, whether the same lord be on the same strand; and to order his servants to carry arms to defend him against the like, or a worse insult, from the said lord, for the consequences of which your petitioner cannot answer.

"Your petitioner is informed by his learned counsel, that there is no law now in being, which can justify the said lord, under colour of his peerage, to assault any of his majesty's subjects on the king's highway, and put them in fear of their lives, without provocation, which he humbly conceives, that by happening to ride before the said lord, he could not possibly give.

"Your petitioner, therefore, doth humbly implore your lordships, in your great prudence and justice, to provide that he may be permitted to ride with safety on the said strand, or any other of the king's highways, for the recovery of his health, so long as he shall demean himself in a peaceable manner, without being put into continual fears of his life, by the force and arms of the said lord Blaney."

We might add many anecdotes relating to the same time—we have, however, only afforded space to this, on account of the strong exemplification it gives of the author's general style and habits of mind. We do not think it necessary to defend him here from the charge of Jacobitism—any reader who desires to find all that can be said on this point, will find enough in Scott's memoir. The imputation had for a time the effect of narrowing his intercourse with the better classes of society, and reducing him to move in a more narrow and less refined circle than he had been accustomed to for some years. Some persons of very high respectability, character, and talent, still superior to the prejudices of the crowd, rallied round him; and though destitute of that artificial charm which power and high rank can even impart to insignificant minds, cannot be supposed to have wanted the main qualifications of the best society, wit, learning, refinement, and good-breeding, with as much of the social affections and more sincerity and worth than his regretted patrons and court friends. Among these were the Grattans, a large, influential, and highly accomplished family, Dr Helsham, Dr Delany, Mr Sheridan, and numerous other names, less generally known to posterity.

But in this circle his breast reverted ever to the friends and companions of that brilliant season of pride and hope, which was now over; they were wanderers and exiles, or awaiting the dangers of prosecution for state offences. With a spirit superior to inconstancy or fear, he continued openly to correspond with them, and pressed to be per-

mitted by his friend, lord Oxford, to attend him in the tower. Sir Walter quotes from one of his letters to Pope, the following very affecting passage:—"You know how well I loved both lord Oxford and lord Bolingbroke, and how dear the duke of Ormonde is to me. Do you imagine I can be easy while their enemies are endeavouring to take off their heads? *I nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros.*" In another passage which we quote from the same letter, Swift gives a graphic sketch of his manner of living:—"You are to understand that I live in the corner of a vast unfurnished house; my family consists of a steward, a groom, a helper in the stable, a footman, and an old maid, who are all on board wages; and when I do not dine abroad, or make an entertainment, (which last is very rare,) I eat a mutton pie, and drink half a pint of wine; my amusements are, defending my small dominions against the archbishop, and reducing my rebellious choir. *Perditur inter hæc misera lux.*" From a letter written several months before that to Bolingbroke, it would appear that he had at first some thought of retiring to live for a time at Laracor, but had been deterred by meeting annoyances in that vicinity, from some litigious neighbour, as also by the disrepair into which his glebe-house had fallen. "I would retire too, [he alludes to Bolingbroke's retirement before his flight into France,] if I could; but my country-seat, where I have an acre of ground, is gone to ruin. The wall of my own apartment is fallen down, and I want mud to rebuild it, and straw to thatch it. Besides, a spiteful neighbour has seized on six feet of ground, carried off my trees, and spoiled my grove. All this is literally true, and I have not fortitude enough to go and see my dominions."*

Some letters which passed, in the spring of 1716, between him and bishop Atterbury, contain the precise particulars of the disputes with his "rebellious choir," alluded to in one of the foregoing extracts. In one of those letters he consults the bishop as to the regulations of other cathedrals. He first says, "I am here at the head of three and twenty dignitaries and prebendaries, whereof the major part, differing from me in principles, have taken a fancy to oppose me upon all occasions in the chapter-house; and a ringleader among them has presumed to debate my power of proposing, or my negative, though it is what the deans of this cathedral have possessed for time immemorial, and what has never been once disputed. Our constitution is taken from that of Sarum; and the knowledge of what is practised there in the like case, would be of great use to me." The answer of Atterbury was strongly adverse to the dean's notions, as it gives the very lowest statement of the power of the deans in the older deaneries; and advises him to avoid the precedents which he proposed, and to pursue a discreet and forbearing caution to avoid stirring questions on the foundations of his authority. Swift, in promising to comply with this counsel, at the same time enumerates the special privileges of the dean of St Patrick's, with their high and ancient authorities, so as to show that he was not at least convinced; and, we may add, such as also to make it apparent, that he had at least much strong ground to go upon.

While the dean was thus entangled in conflicts, little adapted to

* Works, xvi. 245.

compose his irritable temper, or to assuage the deep and painful recollections and anxieties which he felt for those friends, with whom all his generous feelings rested; those friends were passing through trials, adversities, and scenes of reverse and privation. At the coronation of George I., the several actors on that stage, from which Swift had so reluctantly retired, took their places in the scene with different degrees of apprehension, or confidence, as they had been differently involved in the late events. They had each already received intimations of the several degrees of disfavour in which they were involved; Oxford had been coldly received, because he had been a cold and equivocal friend, and was yet affected by suspicion; but he had been too cautious in his movements to have much to apprehend; and having been rejected and spurned by the tories, he was even taken into the new cabinet; he was aware that these circumstances would not prevent the hate of his enemies from the endeavour to place him on his trial; but he was endowed with passive courage, and under worse risks would have braved them for the preservation of his estates and honours; he had made no friend among the Jacobites, and was by principle opposed to them. Ormonde was constitutionally sanguine; he had large interests at stake, and could not resolve without one trial, to sacrifice his fortune to a cause: against him, the king was in the highest degree prejudiced; he had been, under the authority of Bolingbroke, made the agent of a truce, perfidious with respect to the allies, disgraceful to the British arms. When on his way to meet the king at Greenwich, he was met by a message to apprise him that he was forbidden to appear in the presence. Bolingbroke, too deeply dipped in perfidy and treason, to have a reasonable hope, did not brave the contumely of the new court; he measured his danger with a clear and sagacious judgment, and calculated with precision the interval during which he might brave appearances, and try what the high reputation of ability and eloquence, or what fortunate contingency might work for him in the mean time. On the meeting of parliament, these several parties were not long allowed to continue in suspense. Ere this, the pretender had issued a declaration which tended to implicate the entire administration of the late queen. This cruel and perfidious oversight commenced the war of party; the whigs seized on the implication, which was indeed too obvious for doubt; the tories defended themselves; and ere the session commenced, a fierce reciprocation of pamphleteering attacks, defences, and recriminations, prepared the way for heavier weapons.

The old parliament was dissolved, and another, more constituted for the meditated views of the ascendant party, succeeded; the pretender's manifesto was noticed in the king's speech: in the address, both houses stigmatized the dishonourable peace, and expressed their sense of the delinquency of the late ministers. "It shall be our business," was the language of the commons, "to trace out those measures, in which he [the pretender] places his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment." Such an intimation was plain enough. Bolingbroke, in a few evenings after, appeared publicly at the theatre, and bespoke the play for the following night; he then retired, and disguised himself as the lacquey to a French courier, under

whose protection he thus made his way to Calais. Ormonde indulged for a little longer in that confidence which was constitutional to a spirit rather ostentatious than great. Oxford had much to hope, and comparatively little to fear; he firmly and calmly stood his ground, displaying in the trials which followed, that however unfit to meet and cope with the emergencies and difficulties of public life, he was not devoid of the courage and fortitude which can grace adversity. A long and able report was brought in by Walpole, detailing the charges against the late administration. When it was ended, Bolingbroke was impeached of high treason; the impeachment of Oxford followed. Ormonde might have been overlooked, but his indiscretion provoked the doubtful blow; the motion for his impeachment followed, but he was suffered to escape.

In about a month after, Oxford was committed to the tower. We have entered into this detail, as the meet preface to a letter which is so creditable to Swift, that it should not be omitted in this memoir.

"To the Earl of Oxford. *July 19, 1715.*

"My Lord,

"It may look like an idle or officious thing in me to give your lordship any interruption under your present circumstances; yet I could never forgive myself, if, after being treated for several years with the greatest kindness and distinction, by a person of your lordship's virtue, I should omit making you at this time, the humblest offers of my poor service and attendance. It is the first time I ever solicited you in my own behalf; and if I am refused, it will be the first request you ever refused me. I do not think myself obliged to regulate my opinions by the proceedings of a house of lords or commons; and therefore, however they may acquit themselves in your lordship's case, I shall take the liberty of thinking and calling your lordship the ablest and faithfullest minister, and truest lover of your country, that this age has produced; and I have already taken care, that you shall be so represented to posterity, in spite of all the rage and malice of your enemies. And this I know will not be wholly indifferent to your lordship; who, next to a good conscience, always esteemed reputation your best possession. Your intrepid behaviour under this prosecution astonishes every one but me, who know you so well, and how little it is in the power of human actions or events to discompose you. I have seen your lordship labouring under great difficulties, and exposed to great dangers, and overcoming both by the providence of God, and your own wisdom and courage. Your life has been already attempted by private malice; it is now pursued by public resentment. Nothing else remained. You were destined to both trials; and the same power which delivered you out of the paws of the lion and the bear, will, I trust, deliver you out of the hands of the uncircumcised.

"I can write no more. You suffer for a good cause; for having preserved your country, and for having been the great instrument, under God, of his present majesty's accession to the throne. This I know, and this your enemies know, and this I will take care that all the world shall know, and future ages be convinced of. God Almighty

protect you, and continue to you that fortitude and magnanimity he has endowed you with. Farewell, JON. SWIFT."

We learn from a letter which Swift soon after received from Arbuthnot, that lord Oxford was greatly pleased with the generous proposal thus made; and that he intended to write an immediate answer. This answer appears to have been postponed from the extreme indolence and the procrastinating habits of this lord. His incarceration had on the plea of sickness been deferred, and he had gone to pass the short interval thus allowed at one of his seats.

Many of Swift's more humble associates had not been in any way involved, and several enjoyed the immunity belonging to their inferior and simply official connexion with the recent set of men or measures which had now become the mark of increasing clamour and prosecution. On the decline of the club of brothers already noticed, another had been formed far inferior in rank, wealth, and the splendour of social distinctions, but still more superior in the pretensions of a more truly elevated and permanent description. Of this the members were no more than six, and of these were Pope, Swift, Gay, Arbuthnot—Harley and Bolingbroke completed, and gave an imposing character to a union of which they are now (nearly at least,) the lowest names. This union is immortalized in the works of Pope and Swift, as the Scriblerus club. Its members now became his chief correspondents, and in their letters published in his works, their own history, and the literary history of their time is to be found.

While thus harassed by anxiety for his best loved friends, and immersed in harassing dissensions with his chapter, Swift had not like most persons who have to meet the distresses and labours arising from their commerce with the world, a refuge in the affections and confidence of home. In this great source of the best and purest human enjoyment, he must be regarded as the most unfortunate of men: his home hours were but a duller variety of the feverish dream of life, dependent on casual hospitality, or purchased servility, for some faint mock gleams of the love and personal regard to which all right minds turn for rest and peace. There was for him no endearing tie, no holy and cloudless union of love and perfect confidence. The want alone connected him with his kind: and he vainly tried to fill the aching void by cultivating affections which had neither the wholeness nor the faith of those he missed. Had he been a hard-minded man, a devotee to pleasure, or a sincere worshipper of folly, or could the dazzling dreams of his ambition have lasted, he might have escaped the long and weary suffering which tortured him through life. Or had he been content to follow the common path, and sought his happiness in the obvious course in which it was his fortune to meet it, his biographer would have been spared the painful duty of finding cause for censure or apology in those relations of his life in which it most commonly occurs, that the atoning virtues, or the compensating felicities, are to be found in the lives of those whose public career offers little to be dwelt upon with satisfaction. The subject of Swift's intimacy with the two most unfortunate ladies, Miss Johnson, and Miss Vanhomrigh, of which we have already related the commencement,

was at this time beginning to bring forth its fatal fruits. We have fully expressed our own view of this much discussed, and (it must be allowed) still doubtful subject; but we omitted to notice as distinctly as must now become necessary, that after very anxiously considering the arguments adduced on opposite sides of the highly authoritative writers, who have most recently expressed their views upon the subject, we feel compelled to mention, that we must dissent from both, in some of their main conclusions. We do not think it necessary, nor would our space allow it, to enter into a controversial and minute review of their reasons; we only desire to apprise such of our readers, as may happen to be acquainted with this controversy, that our omission does not arise from neglect: we have then, we should say, scrupulously weighed Sir Walter's statements, which are marked by his usual caution and candour, and those of Dr Lyon, which, so far as concerns the main proofs of the principal fact, are equally characterized by acuteness and observation. Having said thus much, it will be enough on this point to add, that in adopting a view which is in some points at variance from either, we shall entirely rely on the reasons and explanations which must accompany our statements.

Many of Swift's friendly biographers in their extreme zeal to repel the malignity of others, and to elevate the character of one whom they venerated, have been led to commit the oversight of overlooking the common facts of human nature, and the numerous moral indications of Swift's mixed and somewhat complicated character. They perhaps felt, that the tenderness, the generosity, and the scorn of vice which were very prominent features of his temper, could not be consistent with the motives and conduct of an opposite nature and tendency, which so much of his history seems peremptorily to force upon the conviction; and have thought it necessary to exert very considerable ingenuity, in constructing for him a character adapted to reconcile those opposites; but altogether out of nature. Now it is with regard to Swift, of all men of whom there is any distinct record, that every one incident of his life is strongly and prominently stamped with the common vein of mixed motive, fine-spun self-deception, adulterated virtue, and dignified infirmity, which is a known condition of human nature. A full view of this nature leads to much comprehensive toleration—they who have clearly viewed what it is at best, will not be inclined to refuse to Swift's virtues, genius, and sufferings, the degree of veneration, respect, and compassion which really is their due, because they were compounded with those infirmities, which are the conditions of humanity, and which in too many cases expand and develop with its powers and capacities. And we may declare (for our own part,) that we are more anxious to guard against fallacious theories, than to set right the character of Swift or any other subject of these memoirs. The assumption that Swift and Stella, from the beginning, entertained no further understanding than a Platonic attachment, commits not one but several errors. We may point out a few: it sets wholly aside the ordinary and well-known law of human character, as commonly observable in the commerce of sexes; it supposes that a man must be very profligate and cruel, before he will be tempted to tamper with female affections without just and honourable

intentions; it then, to redeem Swift from so black a charge, thinks it necessary to assume that the most keen and fastidious observer of others that ever was, and the most severe analyst of motives, one too, remarkable for the tact by which he almost governed female hearts, was, in this one respect, a witless driveller and a simpleton, below the dullest Lothario of a mantuamaker's tea-table; and Stella, who is always mentioned as a person of talent and common sense, not wiser than a miss in her teens, befooled with bad novels. The wise can be led into folly, and the virtuous tempted first, and then self-deluded into guilt—the circle is an old one; but even the dullest understandings find some subterfuges, palliations, and disguises of an honest colour, necessary to keep them well with themselves, as they glide smoothly down the shelving declivity. Were there *distinct evidence* that so simple a convention as a platonic friendship, to exclude all further ties for life, was *expressly* entered upon between Swift and Stella, our inevitable inference would be unfavourable to the virtue of both—we have no faith in such ties—every one knows too well what they mean. It is the true vindication of Swift's head and heart, that his intentions were honourable and natural, and Stella's, that she so understood him. This will not acquit him of much cruelty and much dishonourable conduct; but it will leave us free to find some extenuations and allowances.

The same considerations will, with certain modifications, apply to Vanessa. If, in Stella's case, he reconciled the obtrusive scruples of his better nature, by an indefinite prospect of matrimony; in that of Vanessa, he was satisfied to keep his own conscience clear, by giving warnings and exhortations, which were neither calculated nor intended to have any effect. This is too palpable to waste words upon it; but the path he took is curious for a dexterity of which he was not distinctly conscious. He saw the inflammable temper and sanguine spirit, and while he played with her passions by alternations of gallantry and reproof, he selected and suggested to her sanguine and romantic fancy the very delusion which was wanting to lead her inadvertently on till it was too late to return. He offered objections which were not conclusive, and suggested the platonism which no woman believes sincere, but which served well to ward off for a while distinct and decided explanations. Surely this is the common by-way of seduction; and if we say that we acquit Swift of any vile design, it is because, in reality, this awful crime is not in all, or even in most cases, the result of design: the tale is an old one,

How laughter into folly glides,
And folly into sin.

It is our duty to add, that the folly is never purely free from guilt: there is always an obscure consciousness; and Swift cannot be advocated on the plea of extreme simplicity. He was no dreaming sentimentalist—he was no poet cloud-capt in the heaven of fancy—he was no metaphysician losing his way in empty abstractions and sterile words: he was a man pre-eminently of the world, who is distinguished for having worked his way to male and female favour with an address, which his fierce pride and irritability could not defeat. The esteemed and admired friend

of the high-bred countess—the artful court favourite—the intriguer—the statesman—the morbid and keen-eyed satirist—the subtle and dexterous reasoner—commanding in a word the *elite* of every class, and holding a petty tyranny in the female world: he is not altogether to be defended by the imputation of the most frivolous platonism. We cannot admit of new and far-fetched theories, when the ancient laws of nature apply so well. We must conclude these remarks, which we have carried far beyond our intention, with a few very short extracts from the journal to Stella, the language of which can only be understood as expressive of an intention to marry or to deceive. “Farewell, dearest beloved, MD. and love poor Presto [himself] who has not had one happy day since he left you, as hope to be saved;—it is the last sally I will ever make, but I hope it will turn to some account. I have done more for these, and they are more honest [likely to serve him in turn,] than the last; however, I will not be disappointed, I would make MD. [Stella] and me easy; and I never desired more.” Again, “You are welcome as my blood to every farthing I have in the world; and all that grieves me is, that I am not richer for MD.’s sake, as hope to be saved To return without some mark of distinction would look extremely little; and I would likewise gladly be somewhat richer than I am. *I will say no more*, but beg you to be easy, till fortune take her course, and to believe that MD.’s felicity is the great end I aim at in all my pursuits.” All this is plain as any woman would require; but for a slight tone of equivocation, which too uniformly appears in his protestations, as if he wished to impress the obvious inference without committing himself. And this we suspect to be the fact. As he advanced in life, and as the gay back-ground of the prospect approached, it came upon his eye in more sober and less attractive colours; the attractions faded, and the less-pleasing features started into prominence: he felt himself to be in a position, from which, if he could, he would recede; and he endeavoured to glide imperceptibly into a new understanding. Even while the journal was in its progress, events had been occurring to make the old tie less pleasing; and Scott notices (what we also felt,) the gradual alteration of tone, which marks, as he proceeds, the transfer of his affections. Miss Vanhomrigh was youthful, interesting, personally attractive, and fascinated by his wit and graceful insinuation. As he had made his first advances to Stella in the guise of a Mentor,—a favourite approach since the days of Abelard, and before them;—so he also in the same way caught up the reins of Vanessa’s more brisk and impulsive fancy, and guided her into the path he knew so well. His inclination was amused—his pride gratified;—and in the spell of the moment, he committed to oblivion, as men ever will, the danger attendant on such gratification. Too habitually shrewd not to perceive the more than usually fast progress of his pupil’s passion, he thought to set himself right by a little good advice, which he knew would not be taken; for when did a few sage precepts ever act otherwise than as an excitement, when coming from an object of pursuit. All these considerations are plain enough in the correspondence between Swift and Miss Vanhomrigh, to which we must refer any one who would verify our reasoning.

How then, at this time, stood the dean's affections? We confess that we can do no more than conjecture upon the same broad grounds, where they apply with diminished certainty. We should say that his regard for each of these ladies was in different stages of progress, and therefore that strictly there can be no comparison. Perhaps his inclinations leaned to Vanessa, who was the younger, the more brilliant, and the more flattering; but that the better and more tender affections of his breast recognised the claims, and sympathized with the feelings of Stella. To Stella he had pledged himself: there had been no express contract, but there was an understanding which he felt thoroughly; for he is ever in his journal speaking upon such an understanding.

On his first arrival to take possession of his deanery, he took lodgings for Stella and her companion, Mrs Dingley, on Ormonde quay, the other side of the Liffey, and resumed his usual intercourse with them—an intercourse of which it must be observed, that it absolutely involved the species of understanding which we have explained. In every circumstance, of which we find any record, as well as in all his language, the same distinction may be observed: Stella was neither by him, nor by herself, regarded as a mere intimate friend, but as appropriated. All her arrangements were perceptibly included as a part of his.

Soon, however, the death of Mrs Vanhomrigh was the occasion of those embarrassing occurrences for which we have endeavoured to prepare our readers. Her son survived her but a short time, and her two daughters became the heiresses to a small property in Ireland, near Celbridge. Their circumstances were, notwithstanding, much embarrassed, and it cannot be doubted that Miss Esther Vanhomrigh, whom we may call Vanessa, was too happy to seize an excuse to come over to reside upon their own estate. Vanessa had no apprehension of a rival. Swift, in his communications with each of these ladies, had been most guarded. Occasional hints, which dropped now and then in such a manner as to imply a nearer intimacy than was consistent with his general silence upon the subject, had for some time awakened the most painful suspicions in the mind of Stella; but if such incidents occurred in his intercourse with Vanessa, the ardour of her temper was more likely to overlook them. Stella was more calm, prepared, and trained to endurance: hope deferred, while it depresses the springs of life, has the tendency to create that painful sense which will be most readily understood by calling it a presentiment of ill. The arrival of Vanessa could not fail to awaken this unhappy sensation; and Stella, if she possessed the good understanding for which she has credit, must have had at this time some definite sense of Swift's character and mode of thinking and feeling.

The dean himself was become fully alive to all the perplexity of the position in which he was entangled; and here we feel compelled to observe, that some biographers who take a different view of the whole of this part of his history, dwell with unwarranted stress on the language of some of his letters and communications, which plainly manifest his own anxiety to repel the unfavourable impressions created in the minds of others; to extricate himself from the embarrassment arising from the expectation of both ladies, and which also indicate

that, as his inclinations changed, and the period had arrived, when it was no longer possible to amuse himself with good intentions, he had laboured as most men do on similar occasions, to shift the character of the existing relation between him and the victim of his love. He had always used equivocal language; and, between playfulness and irony, had contrived to suggest whatever he pleased, without committing himself: it was easy for him to persuade himself that he had given no serious pledge—to forget much—overlook inferences—and alter meanings;—he could also assign meanings to that language which proceeds from female pride and reserve, and give it a sense which it was not designed to bear. He could thus make a case for himself; and it would be easy to show by a circumstantial reference to all his correspondence and actions, that his accuracy of assertion was not too great to admit of direct contradiction between the assertions which he made at different times. This, indeed, does not amount to a direct imputation of wilful falsehood: but biographers are too apt to lay stress on such indications, from not making allowance for forgetfulness, change of view, and lapse of time; they are imposed on by the narrow limits of the longest life when it is collected within the compass of a few hours' reading, and thus identify very distinct stages in the progress of man's being. Swift was at this time possessed of an invincible repugnance to matrimony; but his happiness not the less depended upon the whole possession of some tender and devoted breast—he loved Stella, and he pitied her. He may, as Sir Walter supposes, have had more inclination towards the comparatively youthful Vanessa, but in him such inclinations were not a governing principle, and he was (we are persuaded,) more affected by disinclinations. His moral sentiments, friendship, pity, and remorse, were more potential in his nature; and everything indicates a full allowance of the superior claims of Stella.

Vanessa's letters are extant, breathing the most ardent passion, and, taken together with his answers, make it quite clear that her whole heart was bent on a union which he was equally resolved against. The terms on which their intercourse now proceeded are forcibly depicted in the following portion of one of her letters, written from her retirement in 1714:—"You bid me be easy, and you would see me as often as you could. You had better have said, as often as you could get the better of your inclination so much; or as often as you remember there was such a one in the world. If you continue to treat me as you do, you will not be made uneasy by me long. It is impossible to describe what I have suffered since I saw you last. I am sure I could have borne the rack much better than those killing words of yours. Sometimes I have resolved to die without seeing you more; but those resolves, to your misfortune, did not last long. For there is something in human nature, that prompts one so to find relief in this world, I must give way to it; and beg you would see me, and speak kindly to me; for I am sure you'd not condemn any one to suffer what I have done, could you but know it. The reason I write to you is, because I cannot tell it to you should I see you; for, when I begin to complain, then you are angry; and there is something in your looks so awful, that it strikes me dumb. O! that you may have but so much

regard for me left, that this complaint may touch your soul with pity! I say as little as ever I can; did you but know what I thought, I am sure it would move you to forgive me, and believe I cannot help telling you this and live."

From such a spirit there was, it is evident, no escape, without the most cruel inhumanity;—he could not refuse, even had inclination been altogether silent, to visit and correspond with her; he could not, if he would, have acceded to her wishes for a nearer union. Of his tie to her rival, we have said enough: and it is quite apparent, that a marriage with either was likely to be a death-blow to the other. To marry either, was not his desire, and he had a painful and embarrassing course to steer between them.

Under the fatal impression which this condition of circumstances must necessarily have made upon Stella, her health had begun at last to be visibly impaired: she, as Sir Walter says impressively, "had forsaken her country, and clouded her reputation, to become the sharer of his fortunes when at their lowest." She must, indeed, have bowed beneath the withering wrong, much aggravated (instead of extenuated,) by the evasions and indirect courses which only made her condition the more humiliating, and left her no room for remonstrance. Her obvious depression alarmed the tenderness of Swift; and at this point a serious controversy arises on the conduct he pursued. Scott, following the tradition of evidence from the bishop of Clogher through Berkeley, and of Sheridan through Mr Madden and doctor Johnson, confirmed by doctor Delany, Mrs Whiteway, and other intimate associates of the dean, relates, that Swift seeing Mrs Johnson's depression, commissioned Dr St George Ashe, who had been his tutor in college, to inquire the cause. The answer was such as must have been anticipated, that "it was her sensibility to his recent indifference, and the discredit which her own character had sustained from the long subsistence of the dubious and mysterious connexion between them." According to that account, Swift strongly stated his own resolutions, formed as he alleged at an early period; 1st, not to marry, without having first an adequate fortune; and 2d, to marry so early as to have time to push the fortunes of his children, and settle them in the world. He had not yet attained the first of these conditions, and the second was already past. But to satisfy Mrs Johnson's mind he would consent to a marriage, which was to be merely a ceremony, and to be kept strictly secret, and that they should live on the same guarded terms as previously. To this most laughably absurd proposal it is said Mrs Johnson consented, of course (if the story have any truth,) in the hope that one step might lead on to another. In consequence, it is said that they were married in the garden of the deanery in 1716. Against this narration, founded on hearsay evidence, we have to balance the opposite testimony, collected by Dr Lyon, which is brought forward on the authority of Mr Mason. This testimony is wholly different in its nature from the former;—the one being, so far as it goes, positive, the other negative. This latter consists in stating the contrary impression of several persons who were equally intimate with the parties; in certain arguments of considerable force, arising from after circumstances; and in a more general reasoning in which

he weighs the various indications which appear to ascertain the actual understanding which had all through subsisted between the parties. From these considerations Dr Lyon rejects the entire story about the marriage.

Now, considering that the question is still, and must for ever remain doubtful, we are inclined to think the balance of probability in favour of Dr Lyon's view. Strong deductions are, we grant, to be made: the evidence which Sir Walter suggests (for he is not himself satisfied,) has the advantage of being affirmative: that relied on by Dr Lyon is negative. Again, the effort to draw any inference from the expressions and acts of Swift at different periods, is not to be relied upon, as we conceive the foregoing pages to have sufficiently established. Making these exceptions, we consider the doctor to have offered as strong an argument as the subject admits of, to prove that no such marriage ever took place. We shall state such of his arguments as we admit the force of, in his own words: the reader will then have before him all that can now be said to any purpose on this curious question. Having mentioned an assertion of the dean's made to one of his friends, Dr Lyon goes on to say, "The same gentleman, who was intimate with Mrs Dingley for ten years before she died, in 1743, took occasion to tell her that such a story was whispered of her friend Mrs Johnson's marriage with the dean, but she only laughed at it as an idle tale, founded only on suspicion. Again, Mrs Brent, with whom the dean's mother used to lodge in Dublin in the queen's time, and who was his own housekeeper after he settled in Dublin in 1714, and who, for her many good qualities in that situation, was much confided in, never did believe there was a marriage between those persons, notwithstanding all that love and fondness that subsisted between them; she thought it was all platonic love, and she often told her daughter Ridgeway so, who succeeded her in the same office of housekeeper. She said that Mrs Johnson never came alone to the deanery; that Mrs Dingley and she always came together; and that she never slept in that house if the dean was there, only in time of his sickness, to attend him, and see him well taken care of; and during this course of her generous attendance, Mrs Dingley and she slept together; and, as soon as he recovered, they returned to their lodgings on Ormonde quay. These ladies slept other two times at the deanery, at an * * * * pleasant house, and near his garden called Naboth's vineyard, and that was for those months in 1726 and 1727 which he spent in England. It chanced that she was taken ill at the deanery, and it added much to his affliction that it happened at the deanery, for fear of defamation in case of her dying in his house, whether he was at home or abroad. Had he been married, he could not have lived in a state of separation from her, he loved her so passionately; for he admired her upon every account that can make a woman amiable or valuable as a companion for life. Is it possible to think that an affectionate husband could first have written, and then have used, those several prayers by a dying wife with whom he never cohabited, and whose mouth must have been filled with reproaches for denying her all conjugal rites for a number of years, nay, from the very period (1716) that is pretended to be the time of the marriage? Would he have suffered his wife to make a

will, signed Esther Johnson, and to demise £1500 away from him, of which £1000 is enjoyed by the chaplain of Steven's hospital for the sick, and accept of a gold watch only, as a testimony of her regard for him? If he could direct, or rather command her to leave the fortune as he pleased, it is probable he would have directed the application towards the future support of lunatics, which was the species of charity he thought most worthy the attention of the public. Is it not probable, that two gentlemen of honour and fortune, still living, who knew them both intimately, and who were her executors, would have known of a marriage if there was one? And yet they always did, and do positively declare, they never had cause to suspect they were married, although they were in company with both one thousand times; they saw proof of the warmest friendship, and any love but connubial love. If she made him a present of a book, you may read in the titlepage these words—and so she distinguished every book she gave him:—

Esther Johnson's gift to
Jonathan Swift, 1719.

Would he deny his marriage with a woman of good fortune at that time, when he says, "She had a gracefulness somewhat more than human, in every motion, word, and action."

This is the view of Dr Lyon, to whom the care of Swift in his last state of imbecility had fallen: it seems to place the side which he adopts of the question in the strongest light of which it probably admits. It may be observed, that a marriage, accompanied by the conditions said to have been proposed by Swift, was in the first instance so perfectly nugatory, as to be unworthy of the lowest sense or feeling to propose: it was not a secret salve for a secret distress of conscience that Stella wanted; it was a wounded reputation that was to be repaired; for such a purpose the alleged offer was a most cruel and absurd mockery. We cannot, without better proof, admit it to have been made. But we do not quite concur with Dr Lyon in the stress he lays upon Swift's concurrence in the will of Stella, or in the name written in the books as in the above extract. If there was any marriage, it is still evident with how strong a feeling the secret was guarded by Swift; and, to any one who has duly appreciated the vindictive tenacity of his temper, and considered his time of life, and the peculiar eccentric equity which pride will maintain, and which in him so often appears as a characteristic humour: these instances will not seem to have very great weight on the negative side. It is hardly to be supposed that he would seek to derive benefits, or claim rights from a union of which he would not permit her to obtain the only advantage which she had sought, or could have expected from it: the name which he would not allow her to wear, could not appear in her will, or on her gifts: to draw any inference on the other side from her not being allowed to bear that name, is simply to beg the question; we cannot therefore allow much positive value to the facts of Dr Lyon's statement. As for the general arguments as to what Swift would, or would not do, drawn from notions of his moral character, they simply show that Dr Lyon's perceptions of human character were by nature very obtuse; or, that, as often occurs, the near inti-

macy with such a man as Swift, imposed upon his understanding. The elevated ideas of platonic love which he attributes, are laughable out of the nursery; they belong at best to apprentices and boarding-school misses; in a woman of Stella's understanding they could have no place: when pretended by persons of sense and experience, they are uniformly the cover for ulterior designs. A reason, drawn from the assumption of the truth and honour of Swift, is equally fallacy: his virtues were impulses and passions, not strict and unbending rules of obligation; they were the virtues of pride, not principle. His whole life is stamped with all the marks of a low elastic morality: he is in this respect to be estimated from his own accounts of himself, as well as from the entire circle of those whom he courted, and whom he shunned: Harley, St John, the Mashams, and Mrs Howard, were the chosen objects of respect to him who looked with disrespect on Godolphin, Halifax, and Somers. We can easily admit the numerous considerations, by which all this can be favourably explained; but we cannot reconcile any portion of Swift's life, or any part of his exposition of himself with the assumption of any extraordinary virtue or nobleness of spirit, for the purpose of an argument. He himself talks lightly of deceiving others, and we have taken some pains to show how apt he was to deceive himself; it was easy for him to find reasons to confirm his will, and satisfy himself, that there was no injustice and fallacy in the reasons he now and then expressed for his conduct: the contradictions and inconsistencies, which are now so glaringly manifest in his collected remains were of course not before his mind at any one time. But it was hardly to be concealed, either from himself or Stella, that she was suffering a proscription on his account, from all female society. The female, who could willingly submit to this, was wanting in all the peculiar virtues of her sex—every one then, as now, understood the real character of that lofty contempt of decorum, which bespeaks the exaltation of vice alone: we cannot suffer poor hapless Stella to be made a historic parallel for the *Déesse de la raison*.

We have now gone through the main points on either side of a question so doubtful and so interesting; and we think the result to be, that there are no satisfactory grounds for a decision. We cannot attach conclusive value to the statements of any of those who have entertained the question, while we admit that there are reasons of much weight advanced on every side. This much we consider clear, that Stella must have expected a marriage, and that Swift encouraged such an expectation; that he was sincere in those intimations which gave rise to such an expectation; but, that having some repugnance to enter into such a union, he continued to put it off, and, as most persons do in a variety of duties, to find reasons, shift his views, and make corresponding changes in his statement to others on the subject. All this is broadly written on the surface: the rest is hid in doubt. He may have made up his mind against the step, and fortified himself with reasons which were fallacious, and averments which were not strictly true; while some well-meaning friends may, in pity for poor Stella, and zeal for his character, have persuaded themselves to believe or invent a secret marriage. Again, on the other side, the dean, in

pity and remorse, may have yielded to a strong and earnest wish; or, as is more probable on this supposition, feeling that he could not refuse, may have reluctantly consented and imposed conditions which wholly neutralized it; while Stella, on her part, may have still hoped for some further relaxation, which might at least release her from her unhappy position in society. While Swift, whose whole moral temper is not ill-described in a line which was applied to him by some of his intimate friends:—

*Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis;*

held to his conditions with the vindictive force of his acrimonious and unbending spirit. To this, were we to assume his marriage, might be added an additional motive of great force, which is thus stated by Sir Walter, "terror for the effects the news of his marriage might produce on the irritable feelings of Vanessa, and a consciousness that his long concealment of the circumstances which led to it, placed his conduct towards her in a culpable point of view, must be allowed as one chief motive for the secrecy enjoined upon Stella." Swift was, it must be allowed, placed under circumstances of extreme embarrassment: it is a perplexity by no means uncommon; he found a way of his own to escape it.

This tragedy had a double plot: we must now for a moment return to conclude the history of Miss Vanhomrigh. We have stated, at some length, our view of the intimacy which led to her most unfortunate fate: in this we endeavoured to draw the line as precisely as we could between the different degrees of censure to which either party was liable; and, acquitting Swift of any express purpose of a criminal nature, we have not hesitated to bring home to his charge an inconsiderate and selfish gallantry, which can be easily traced through all its disguises. Her arrival in Ireland was, however, embarrassing in the extreme: Swift would have deterred her from coming, but in vain: there remained no longer for him the same strong attraction which gave interest to her conversation in London: he also more clearly saw the result to which her precipitate temper was drifting. During the interval she remained in town, he is said to have visited her as rarely as he could, without offending her irritable feelings. During this time he introduced to her some persons of respectable fortune and pretensions as suitors, each of whom she rejected—not without some display of the irritation caused by such a step. Her intercourse with Swift seems to have been by no means such as to offer much attraction: she became exacting and petulant; and, we should infer from numerous hints in the letters on both sides, continually angling for the proposals which she never ceased to expect, and showing displeasure at not receiving them. At last, in 1717, she returned with her sister, to reside at Marlay Abbey, her place near Celbridge. From this there was an epistolary correspondence between them, but it appears that they never met except when she came to town, until 1720, when she began to be visited by him occasionally. It is said that she always planted a laurel with her own hands whenever she expected one of those visits. It was

their wont on such occasions, to sit in a summer-house in the garden, with a table spread with books and writing materials between them; and, it may be presumed, that the conversation was entirely on subjects of criticism and philosophy;—from the character of both it is easy also to infer with considerable certainty, that Vanessa was ever availing herself of such topics as arose to press her own private views of their position, and that Swift was no less adroit in evasions and warnings similarly urged. The correspondence which passed between them during this interval is preserved, and has been given to the public in the edition of Swift's Works, published by Sir Walter Scott: it offers the very clearest view into all the recesses of Vanessa's mind, and leaves no doubt as to the whole spirit and character of their intercourse. We must now pass at once to the close of this romance of indiscretion and woe. For a long time she seems to have been sustained by the hope which is slow to desert enthusiasts—the very concessions, so forcibly extorted, were still added to the fatal pile of her illusions—she was kept within the bounds of due restraint by the awe which she entertained towards her fancied lover; but still it is probable that she reversed in her fancy the actual state of affairs, and thought that a reluctant entanglement with Mrs Johnson, alone withheld his hand. She is supposed also to have been impressed with the idea, that this lady was rapidly declining in health, and could not long continue to be an obstacle to her wishes. At last, she felt that her years were stealing away, while these wishes appeared as far as ever from their object. The buoyant spirit of youth had sunk, and continued disappointment imparted perhaps the resolution of despair; she took a decisive, and, as it eventually proved a fatal step! She wrote a letter to Mrs Johnson, requesting to know the truth of the report that she had been married to the dean.

Of the effect of this letter, there are, of course, two opinions, and must be two ways of telling the story. If, with Sir Walter, we conclude that such a marriage had actually taken place, Stella must have handed this letter to the dean, as one which she could not answer consistently with the understanding which existed between them. If the marriage had not occurred, it was a happy occasion to convey to the dean, without incurring his anger, the real character of the injury she was herself receiving at his hands. In either case her conduct was likely to have been the same. If, however, it was merely the secret that was risked, it is not so easy to understand the extreme violence of Swift's resentment—in this case, nothing had occurred which could not be remedied by an explanation, except the shock which poor Vanessa must have received—there was just enough to excite the irritability of his temper. But if we assume the contrary supposition, the whole becomes intelligible enough; for then Vanessa's indiscretion must have placed him in a position of the utmost embarrassment with Mrs Johnson: it at once rent asunder the nice web of illusions which he had so long and so dexterously kept up; it placed unequivocally before both, in a broad and glaring light, what her delicacy and pride had recoiled from uttering, and his sophisticating ingenuity concealed. This was, he must have felt, too much from one whose weakness he had so long treated with indulgence, and whose petulance and unauthorized expect-

tations he had met with pity and consideration: it was a crime to be bitterly avenged.

Sir Walter, in his relation of these occurrences, says, "Stella, in reply, informed her of her marriage with the dean." If such a reply has any record whatever, it ought to be produced: it would at once put an end to the question on which so much valuable ingenuity has been wasted. But it is, we should suppose, only inferred from the assumption that such a marriage had actually taken place. If so, one consideration is strangely overlooked. Such a reply would have been a breach of confidence made on grounds so slight, that if it be admitted, it is not easy to suppose that the secret could have been at all kept. We assume therefore, that Stella wrote no reply, but contented herself with sending Miss Vanhomrigh's letter to the dean. Infuriated by the indiscretion, he rode straightway to Marlay Abbey,—the rest we must tell in the language of Sir Walter:—"As he entered the apartment, the sternness of his countenance which was peculiarly formed to express the fiercer passions, struck the unfortunate Vanessa with such terror, that she could scarce ask whether he would not sit down. He answered by flinging a letter on the table, and, instantly leaving the house, mounted his horse and returned to Dublin. When Vanessa opened the packet, she only found her own letter to Stella. It was her death warrant. She sunk at once under the disappointment of the delayed, yet cherished hopes, which had so long sickened her heart, and beneath the unrestrained wrath of him for whose sake she had indulged them. How long she survived this last interview is uncertain; but the time does not seem to have exceeded a few weeks. In the meanwhile she revoked a will made in favour of Swift, and settled her fortune, which was considerable, upon Mr Marshal, afterwards one of the judges of the court of common pleas in Ireland, and Dr Berkeley, the celebrated philosopher, afterwards bishop of Cloyne. A remarkable condition is said to have accompanied her bequest; that her executors should make public all the letters which had passed between the testatrix and Swift, as well as the celebrated poem of Cadenus and Vanessa." But, as Sir Walter immediately adds, that in reality no such injunction was made in the will, and if made at all, it must have been in some private communication. The letters were suppressed, it is supposed, from an honourable sense of delicacy by Berkeley, and by Marshal from fear of Swift. It was also supposed that Berkeley destroyed the letters; but a full copy of them was retained by the judge, from which some mutilated extracts found their way to the public. Sir Walter adds, that he has himself been enabled to "fill up this curious desideratum in Swift's correspondence, which gives him the more pleasure, as any sinister interpretation of the former imperfect extracts, which, as natural, were taken from those passages which expressed most warmth of passion, will be in a great measure confuted by the entire publication." We quite assent to the truth of these and all the very forcible comments of Sir Walter, with the slight exception of his remark as to the tone of feeling appearing lowered, by the more full and perfect restoration of the sense. On the part of Swift it is clearly so; and it is also perfectly evident that there is no room left for any scandalous construction. But the reader must not

imagine that Vanessa's passion was in any degree less glowing, impulsive and extreme, than it has been represented. The letters, as published in Sir Walter's edition, contain passages enough which are too expressly the language of passionate infatuation, softened by no context, and capable of no interpretations but the literal frenzy of amorous folly and despair. It would however be extreme injustice to quit this topic without one more sentence from Sir Walter. "It would perhaps have been better, had their amours never become public; as that has however happened, it is the biographer's duty to throw such light upon them as Mr Berwick's friendship has enabled him to do, in order that Swift's conduct, weak and blameable as it must be held in this instance, may at least not suffer hereafter, from being seen under false or imperfect lights." On this topic, Scott has offered many just reflections, well worth much attentive consideration—but for these we must refer to his *Life of Swift*. In a note on this part of his subject, he gives a very curious proof how much Swift must have been the object of female admiration, in a letter from a lady who signs herself Sacharissa. It breathes the whole fervour and fire of the most devoted passion, and what seems difficult to conceive, refers it to the perusal of his writings, which she assures him gave birth to her passion before she saw his "godlike form." This assuredly opens a curious side view into the female fancy; and perhaps into the spirit of that age. According to the refinements of modern feeling and taste, it would be hard to conceive writings less calculated to awaken "love's young dream," than anything ever published by Swift; it can hardly be imagined that one so young as Sacharissa seems to have been, could be inflamed by grossness, or softened by dry humour; though we can well understand the effect of these and such other additions in certain stages of life and disposition, and when set off by address and personal appearance. But poetry was in a low state, and perhaps the ardent fancy of Miss Sacharissa was won by the cold and stinted gleams which adorn Swift's verses: his reputation for genius, wit, and female favour, would be enough to complete the impression. She represents it as her "misfortune to be in the care of persons who generally keep youth under such restraint, as won't permit them to publish their passion, though ever so violent." The restraint which permitted such language was, we should fear, to no great purpose, and scarcely included a religious education, or the cultivation of a sense of decorum, or of that chaste self-respect which belongs to virtuous modesty. We have a strong suspicion that this letter, which is treated as a genuine effusion, must appear to many as a practical piece of waggery by some of his own acquaintance, among whom he was not alone a wit but the cause of wit; though it must be admitted, that the utmost reach of caricature will fall short of the sincere absurdities into which young persons of an enthusiastic temperament often fall, when they lay aside the useful restraints of propriety.

On the death of Miss Vanhomrigh, Swift retired into the north of Ireland, where he remained for two months, in gloomy seclusion.

Of his occupations in the same interval there are abundant notices, as also of his habits and manner of living. As we have made more than usually free with the very limited space at our command, we shall

here endeavour to bring together a few details and extracts, which may help readers to form more distinct conceptions of the man. It is believed that he devoted much of his time to study. In the notes of his life by Scott, there is a long list of books noted by himself, taken from Faulkner's catalogue of his library, and such as to display a very considerable extent of reading, which comprised most of the principal ancient and modern writers, as well in the learned languages, as in French and English. It is also mentioned as probable, that it was in this period that he sketched the first outline of *Gulliver's Travels*; and many circumstantial confirmations of this opinion are pointed out.

His domestic economy was in some degree characteristic of the extreme precision and frugality, which, partly from early habit, and partly from better motives, he uniformly preserved through life; something too is to be attributed to the single state in which it was his will to continue. He boarded with Mr Worral, a clergyman who lived in his vicinity; but kept two public days at the deanery. So far as we have been able to discover any distinct notice of these entertainments, they appear to have been sufficiently ample for the dean's fortune and circumstances; but it is known that they were then unfavourably compared with the more affluent hospitalities of his predecessor, dean Sterne. The age was one of extreme and open hospitality in Ireland; and as the dean did not keep house at home except on these formal days, the poorer clergy, who were in the custom of making visits of business, could not fail to miss and feel the want of the certain welcome they had always hitherto met at the deanery. "His best defence," says Sir Walter, "is, that he received his preferment on such terms as involved him considerably in debt, and that his parsimony never interfered with the calls of justice or benevolence." But as the same writer observes, the strife between parsimony and hospitality sometimes betrayed him into "instances of ridiculous accuracy." The stories illustrative of this are known as popular anecdotes, and have a place in so many jest-books, that we need not repeat them here. It was a habit which there is reason to think he continually observed, to allow many of his visitors at the deanery a small sum to provide entertainment for themselves; and when he chose to visit any of his poorer friends, he always insisted on paying for his board.

There was a small inner circle of friends with whom he was most in the custom of living, and with whom he kept the most unreserved intercourse. Among these Sheridan and Delany may be chiefly mentioned—of each of whom we shall give some separate account. Their entire intercourse appears to have been a commerce of wit and gaiety, of which the extant remains would fill a volume. Swift also was a frequent guest with chief baron Rochfort, at whose house he frequently passed considerable intervals. This judge was opposed to the existing government, and his house was a centre of all sorts of tory wit.

Among his prebendaries and the officers of his cathedral, he soon acquired the most entire ascendancy. His unpopular manner, and the high tone of authority which he had from the very beginning assumed, combined with other prejudices already mentioned, had roused a con-

tumacious temper among them; they soon began to see that he not only kept right on his side, but that their own privileges and immunities had acquired in him a spirited and uncompromising defender. Of his manner among them, a notion may be formed from some lines of a poem written by dean Percival.

"He sometimes to a chapter goes,
With saucy strut and turned up nose,
Leans on his cushion, then he'll bid ye
Hearken to what all know already.
Perhaps he'll sneer or break a jest,
But deil a bit to break your fast.
Go when you please, let the clock strike
What hour it will, 'tis all alike.
Some country preb. comes just at one,
In hopes to dine, and so begone;
The dean appears, "I'm glad to see you,
Pray tell what service I can do you,
Be quick, for I am going out."
The hungry Levite's vexed no doubt
To be thus baulked; tucks up his gown,
Makes a low scrape, and so to town;
Is welcome there, so makes a shift
To drink his glass, and rail at Swift."

This is the language of satire, but as we have already noticed, the point of satire consists in the truth of its aim. The subject of such verses could not well be a favourite with the "country preb.," but he was not the less respected and honoured by the more sterling and higher classes of his associates; small minds are only to be repelled or attracted in the commerce of little things, which are mostly overlooked in the estimation of genius and virtue. It must be confessed that the satire of dean Percival displays no inferior powers of satirical description; but he had been severely mauled by the relentless pen of Swift; and we cannot help thinking, that among the many fragments of description which are to be found scattered among his biographers, there will be found nothing so true as the language of dean Percival. There is always to be observed this distinction between the language of panegyric and satire: eulogy aims to magnify that which is to be admired, and avoids the little and absurd,—it is therefore liable to be diverted into splendid generalities; it is not easy to deal forth precise measures of the sublime: homely peculiarities can always be converted to the purposes of satire, not so much because they are intrinsically ridiculous, as because they are characteristic and minute. For instance, the following slight touch conveys a picture:—

"As for himself, with draggled gown,
Poor-curate like, he'll trudge the town,
To eat a meal with punster base," &c.

Of the occasionally boastful tone of Swift's conversation, the same poem gives no unlikely specimen—

"But let's proceed from these poor tricks,
O' the kitchen to his politics.
They stare, and think he knows as well
All depths of state as Machiavel."

"It must be so, since from him flows,
 Whate'er the earl of Oxford knows.
 He swears the project of the peace
 Was laid by him, in Anna's days;
 The South Sea ne'er could have miscarried,
 As he contrived, but others marred it.
 Thus he goes on two hours and more,
 And tells the same thing o'er and o'er;
 The darkest plots he can unravel,
 And split them ope from the head to the navel,
 What dire effects o'er handbox hovered,
 Venice Preserved," &c.

It asks no reflection to perceive from these lines, how much Swift must, in his graver conversational moods, have been in the habit of reverting frequently, and at length, to his political achievements.

But it was in politics, and in the cherished dream of political importance and influence, that all his more serious thoughts found their appropriate object. For this, the whole frame of his heart and head were cast. And while he dwelt with melancholy fondness, or still rankling irritability on those busy and ambitious seasons in which his hopes found their object and disappointment, it is easy to conceive the relief of an occasional free breathing of the fulness of his pent-up and impatient spirit. Such a spirit could not fail sooner or later to find scope and a field of action for itself: Swift could not contentedly subside into the quiet insignificance of an Irish deanery, or avoid entering with his stormy and over-wakeful temper into the scene of party strife which surrounded him. Unconnected with the existing government; opposed to them in the line of views he had adopted, and not less so in his friendships and hostilities, it is easy to see into what current he must have been carried, by the prepossessions of his mind. He could not therefore have failed to adopt the popular side in Ireland. We are anxious to call attention to this, and to some other seemingly trifling considerations, because it has appeared to us that very exaggerated views have been taken of his conduct and character, upon the ground of the part which he took at this time in the politics of Ireland. He has by some of the most respectable English historians been represented as a ruffianly demagogue, who endeavoured to obtain political importance by popular agitation; while his Irish admirers have exalted his conduct and motives beyond the realities of human character.

Now, the fact of human nature is, that it is, in most instances, the love of distinction, and the kindred sentiments of ambition, which first carry the public man forward into political life; but, in his conversation with public affairs, the passions become engaged, and the several interests which become the objects of exertion will be sincerely espoused. The strong evidence of factious impulse and personal motive which can often, as in Swift's history, be distinctly substantiated, by no means tends to prove that he had not adopted the principles on which he professed to act.

Another important consideration would demand here a very tedious reversion, had we not, throughout the entire course of these memoirs, endeavoured to mark with great caution the line of distinc-

tion between the conflicting views of Irish politicians. We shall here avoid the disquisitions into which we have so often been forced by cases like that now before us, in which we have had to speak strong truths, without making any concession to the statements of either whig or tory writers. The points are briefly these: the state of Ireland, and the questions affecting her political condition at that period are complicated; and, resting not on general, but very peculiar grounds, they were not understood in England. They who have looked distantly and generally along the course of Irish history have seen, clearly enough, ample grounds for both a stern and coercive policy, and for a treatment which seemed to assume a very low state of civilization; while others, having taken narrower ground on local details, could only see the wrongs which were inflicted by subordinate agents, under the license of such a policy. Again, those writers who dwelt upon the wisdom and integrity of the English cabinet, and who have vindicated their policy, have, without much reflection, failed to draw the distinction between their English and Irish opponents; but viewing the former as a faction striving for power, and labouring to embarrass the government, have extended the same imputation to those who appeared to be their fellow-workers in Ireland.

Now, whatever may be said against Jacobitism in England and elsewhere, the apprehension of which casts a tinge of disaffection on all opposition; and whatever may be said of the popular disposition in Ireland, (if there was any such thing as popular disposition then,) it cannot be denied, that there were great and heavy wrongs and oppressions to be complained of. It is true (however it may be extenuated,) that Ireland was at that time looked on with the most thorough contempt by the members of the English government, and, consistently with such a sense, treated as a country not entitled to any consideration, when English interests were in the least concerned. And those who have assailed the memory of Swift, on political grounds, have been similarly governed by misapplied views, or deceived by their unacquaintance with the separate and wholly different circumstances of Irish affairs.

A man of genius, and therefore endowed with the more expansive and liberal sentiments of humanity; a spirit too elevated and proud to mix itself with the low aims of subordinate partisans; too just to look with indulgence upon national wrongs and flagrant acts of oppression; too irritable and too sore to look on them without exasperation, may well be acquitted of base or merely factious motives. In entering on the field of Irish politics, Swift could have taken no other ground. The lengths to which he was carried were the result of the energy and talent which he brought to bear upon the main questions of the hour. If some English nobleman had risen in his place in the English privy council, and advised that some regard should be had to the commercial interests of Ireland, and that no attempt ought to be made to encroach upon the privileges which at that time she possessed, it would scarcely be attributed by so able an historian, and so uniformly just a reasoner, as lord Mahon, to any factious motive. Yet it is only necessary to suppose such an adviser in Ireland, and something more in earnest, and better acquainted with

the facts and consequences, to have the whole case of dean Swift. There is, we grant, some discredit reflected on the course he took, by the means and from the consequences; but even this is only specious, as we shall presently see.

We have already had occasion to relate, that after the revolution, some important changes took place in the general administration of Irish affairs: previous to that event, however ill administered the affairs of this kingdom might have been, there is yet uniformly to be traced in the policy of the English cabinet, a general beneficence of intent, shown by a disposition to promote the civilization of the people, and the commercial interests of the country. And thus, though abuses were rife in the official administration, yet there was never wanting a rectitude of intent, and a fair regard to the independent privileges of the kingdom. The respective consequences of these two facts were, that while there existed much internal malversation and corruption, and while individuals were heavily oppressed, there was a rapid advance in the general prosperity of the country. But the wars of the revolution, and still more, the circumstances by which they were preceded, called up the memory of those former rebellions, massacres, and internal agitations, which seem to have had a periodical return in Ireland. The causes of these disturbances were no less calculated to make an unfavourable impression than the disturbances themselves; there appeared too plainly to escape notice, a strong national tendency to be excited by influences of the least tractable, and most dangerous character, and such as no expedient, or indeed possible system of measures were likely to remove. In consequence of this growing impression, severe measures were had recourse to, for the security of the kingdom, and a most unfortunate sense sprung up, that a country which was the centre of so many disorders, fatal to internal prosperity, and dangerous to the empire, was not to be treated with any further consideration, than what was just necessary to keep the people quiet.* Such impressions operated with a sense of self-interest, to lead the English commons to attempt encroachments on the independence of the Irish parliament, and also to deprive this country of some of its most important commercial advantages. In the reign of William III., they prohibited the exportation of the Irish woollen manufactures, except to England and Wales. The double wrong, an injury and an insult, were not allowed to pass in silence at the time; but the stunning influence of recent convulsion was still upon the mind of all; the winners were yet distrustful, and the losers still depressed and terrified. The British government, still under the sense of dangers not altogether visionary, adopted the notion that it was necessary to maintain its power with a strong hand; and in Ireland, the remembrance of a still recent period of horror and destruction operated to depress the spirit of resistance. There was, in consequence, an interval of torpid acquiescence which lasted through the following reign.

This silence was first to be broken by the voice of Swift. A whig

* We cannot too strongly impress on the reader, that we are here only stating the general nature of an impression operating at a distance. We have no hesitation in condemning the policy to which it gave rise, so far as it is here considered.

in his political creed, and in no way disposed to favour the turbulent and flagitious spirit which dwelt in the hopes of rebellion, and looked to the enemies of England as friends to Ireland; but on the contrary, strongly and explicitly drawing the distinction in favour of the English interest, he yet saw, with the strong indignation of a humane and liberal mind, the stagnation of national interests resulting from misgovernment and injustice. His resentment was not the less that he felt a dislike and contempt towards the agents of this maladministration; and he entered with all his power and energy into the field of political contest once more. "Do not the corruptions and villanies of men eat your flesh and exhaust your spirits," he said to his friend Delany; who, answering in the negative, the dean became exasperated, and angrily answered, "Why, how can you help it?" "Because," said the other, "I am commanded to the contrary, 'Fret not thyself, because of the ungodly.'"

Swift was not slow to find occasion for his meditated appeal: he began by a short pamphlet, published in 1720. It was entitled, "A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures, &c." Considering the temper of England, as we have described it, it may be easily conceived how such a pamphlet would be taken in that quarter.

Indeed, considering the substance of his representations in this pamphlet, together with the severe measures of prosecution adopted by the crown, it offers a very striking evidence of that state of contempt into which Irish affairs and interests must have sunk. It is perfectly free from the slightest hint which could by any force of language be construed into disaffection, or into an attack on any existing authority or law. To any one who reads it now, it will appear deficient in force, matter, and argument; but it spoke an intelligible language, and gave a voice to strong existing discontents; the representations it held forth were not merely practical, but couched in the most familiar forms, and framed in that style of playful severity and irony, which has everywhere, but most of all in Ireland, so much popular effect. It reads like a happy selection from the common talk of the day, here and there pointed with the keenest shaft of Swift's wit. He tells the story of Arachne turned into a spider, and forced to spin and weave out of her own bowels; after which, he proceeds,—"I confess, that from a boy, I always pitied poor Arachne, and could never heartily love the goddess,* on account of so cruel and unjust a sentence, which is, however, fully executed on us by England with further additions of rigour and severity. For the greater part of our bowels and vitals is exhausted, without allowing us that liberty of spinning and weaving them." He then follows the subject on into a strain of very happily couched irony, in which he makes a person complain at some length of the wrongs sustained by poor England, in consequence of certain impositions practised by Ireland; such as digging their own ground for coals, &c.; and proposes a project to transport our best wheaten straw to Dunstable, and oblige "us by a law to take yearly so many tons of straw hats for the use of our women, which will be of great use to the manufacture of that industrious town." To appreciate the boldness of Swift in the publication

* Pallas.

of a tract that spoke a language which might appear exceedingly moderate in our own times, it will be necessary to recollect that neither the liberty of the press, nor of the people, had, even in England, attained those uttermost lengths of freedom which now press so often on the extreme bounds of license and confusion. As political intelligence was less, so the effects of popular excitement were far more sudden and dangerous. It is also justly observed by Sir Walter Scott, that "we must remember he was himself a marked man, intimately connected with the measures of that minister, whose period of power was now usually termed *the worst of times*." He also observes the strong feeling that must have been excited upon a question affecting the interests of many powerful persons; a feeling which extended to those on whom it would devolve to be the judges, in case any state prosecution should be instituted. Sir Walter expresses also strongly, the praise due to one who, having always asserted his rooted aversion to the country, was yet content to take up its wrongs, from no other sentiment than disinterested patriotism. It will not be any detraction from Swift to attribute his conduct to somewhat more common and natural feelings; there is a strong sense of justice, and a sympathy with those who are the subjects of undeserved wrongs for the benefit of selfish, unjust, and inconsiderate oppressors, which, even in a well-told tale, and in an imaginary country, would be enough to kindle the passions, and excite the spleen. To Swift such a statement would be peculiarly directed—and, though the scene were Nova Scotia, or the tyranny that of Prester John, would kindle the fury of his irritable spirit. But against the existing government, and against their official representatives and agents in this country, he entertained feelings of contempt, dislike, and jealousy; the very fact, that he was himself a "marked man," was a motive to one like him, more vindictive than timorous—more desirous to obtain importance and show power, than apprehensive of consequences." With such a temper, his sense of justice and humanity was warmed by a strong infusion of other equally characteristic feelings. But it rarely indeed happens, that human motives are purely to be traced to any unmixed source. And in ascertaining the identity of the character through its various moods, we must at the same time admit that those secondary motives which we have been tracing, have mostly a latent connexion only with the direct and immediate sentiment, to which they give movement and contribute force.

A prosecution was quickly put in motion: the law officers of the crown prosecuted the printer; and the grand juries found that the tract was a "seditious, factious, and virulent libel." The printer (Waters,) was arrested, and forced to give bail under large securities. The trial came on, and the result was, in all appearance, likely to turn out differently, as the jury, who had perhaps been better instructed by the effect of public discussion, brought in their verdict of acquittal. Chief-justice Whitshed was, however, determined, and had recourse to threats, which in more recent times would not be dared, or listened to by the bar; but the imputation of disaffection was then an object of no vain terror; and after daring to resist, for eleven hours, the courage and firmness of the jury gave way so far as to bring in a

special verdict,* by which the case was left in the judges' power. The arbitrary temper of Whitshed had carried him too far, and it was felt necessary to treat the matter with caution. The further proceeding was postponed until the arrival of the duke of Grafton, at whose desire a *noli prosequi* was entered. Swift pursued Whitshed with inexorable vengeance, and showered lampoon and epigram on his devoted head.

Many singularly ridiculous projects had at that time amused the credulity of the world, and Swift's strong and early hatred of such schemes had been continually excited. It was an unlucky time for the proposal of a national bank; for such an establishment, the commerce, the intelligence, or the independence of the country were not yet ripe. It was proposed by persons who, it was suspected, would have made it the engine of large frauds upon the public; and it was perhaps still more evident, that it could be made use of by the government, to the prejudice of the currency. Swift attacked it so effectively with ridicule, that the project was rejected by the Irish parliament.

We pass a variety of minor incidents and tracts which filled the same interval, to state the particulars of a contest which terminated in giving Swift more popularity than has been attained in this country, from his time to the present generation, by any individual.

There had for some years been felt a great want of copper coinage, for the transaction of the retail trade; so that a person, having money in his pocket, was in small bargains necessitated to depend on the credit he might find in the warehouses; a deficiency most felt among the lower classes, whose wants were chiefly such as to incur this inconvenience. A necessity so evident seemed alike to demand the interposition of the crown, and at the same time to hold out a temptation to the speculation of adventurers. A person of the name of Wood was induced to avail himself of the circumstance, to obtain from George I. a patent for the coinage of £108,000, in half-pence, to supply the Irish circulation. He succeeded in this by the influence of the duchess of Kendal, the king's mistress; and the patent was passed without recourse to the usual formalities of consent in the privy council, and the Irish parliament; which latter was required to give legal currency to a coinage of base metal. This measure was looked on by Swift, as an infringement of the legislative independence of the kingdom. He sounded the alarm in three letters, signed M. B. Drapier, in which he avoided the dangerous considerations of privilege and national independence, which, if too early put forth, might cause his design to be effectively resisted at the outset, and appealed to the apprehensions of the vulgar, by a most dexterous selection of arguments. These were founded upon an assumption of the exceeding adulteration of the copper; proceeding on which, he showed the losses to be sustained both by individuals and by the country; from which he showed that the gold and silver would be entirely drawn away in a

* A special verdict is given, when the jury, doubting the law of the case, choose to leave the question open to the decision of the court; this they do by a statement of the facts and finding, upon a condition to be decided by the judge.

little time; he also dwelt on the inconvenience which must ensue, when this base copper should become the only existing medium; and on the tyrannical extortions of which it might be made the means. All these suggestions he put forward, with a curious adaptation of manner and language, to the classes who were chiefly to be agitated; the small casualties of their dealings; the phrases to which they were accustomed; and even the very emphasis which fear and ignorance give to trifles, he contrived to infuse by means of the Italic characters which ran through every paragraph, giving an impressive significance to his hints and affirmations. The whole was strongly seasoned with characteristic humour, admirably adapted to the supposed writer, and those on whom it was designed to tell. It is unnecessary to state at length arguments and representations which were not sincere, and only pursued for the purpose of exciting those to whom the real objects of the writer would have been unintelligible. Such, indeed, has ever been the principle of popular appeals,—the excitement of delusive resentments and fears for the furtherance of some special purpose or view, with which they are wholly unconnected. The arguments used in these celebrated letters were all illusory; as the pretence on which they were founded was untrue: in fact, Wood's copper had been carefully assayed at the mint, and no precautions which could be under any circumstances taken, were neglected by the government to control the issue of his half-pence; so that in point of reality, the measure was in itself most beneficial in its tendency. This being considered, the reader of the Drapier's letters will be amused by the grave humbug with which the rabble of every class is cajoled, in a manner which reminds one of the species of banter sometimes used with children. A specimen will convey the most distinct idea. After explaining that they were not obliged to take this coin, and having made a statement, with all the specious precision of numbers, to show the exact extent of the loss, he goes on,—“THEREFORE, my friends, stand to it One and All; refuse this *filthy trash*; it is no treason to rebel against *Mr Wood*. His *Majesty* in his patent obligeth nobody to take these *half-pence*; our *gracious prince* hath no such ill advisers about him; or if he had, you see the laws have not left it in the *king's* power, to force us to take any coin but what is lawful, of right standard, *gold* and *silver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.”

“And let me in the next place apply myself particularly to you who are the poorest sort of *tradesmen*. Perhaps you may think you will not be so great losers as the rich, if these *half-pence* should pass; because you seldom see any silver, and your customers come to your shops or stalls with nothing but brass, which you likewise find hard to be got. But you may take my word, whenever this money gains footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry these *half-pence* to a shop for *tobacco* or *brandy*, or any other thing you want, the shopkeeper will advance his goods accordingly, or else he must break, and leave the *key under the door*. Do you think I will sell you a yard of tenpenny stuff for twenty of *Mr Wood's half-pence*? no, nor under two hundred at least; neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in a lump. I'll tell you one thing further, that if *Mr Wood's* project should take, it will ruin even our beggars;

for when I give a beggar a half-penny, it will quench his thirst, or go a good way to fill his belly; but the twelfth part of a half-penny, will do him no more service than if I should give him three pins out of my sleeve."

A popular ferment was soon excited; and as the Irish parliament and privy council had previously addressed strong remonstrances on the infringement of the legislative independence of Ireland, and the insult which they felt it to convey, counter-representations began to be circulated in different forms. One in Mr Harding's newspaper was supposed to be Wood's own defence of himself; in reply to this Swift's second letter was written. In this he repeats most of the former arguments with increased speciousness, and replies with great wit and dexterity to those advanced in the newspaper. His third letter is addressed to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, and consists of observations on a report of the English privy council, consequent on the remonstrances of the Irish council and parliament. This report he pretends to believe to be an impudent fabrication of Mr Wood's, and replies by representations adapted to irritate and excite the Irish parliament. On this occasion he adopts a more cautious style of affirmation as to the baseness of the coinage, but replies to the various arguments offered to establish the opposite assertion. But he dwells more upon the questions of legality and of usage, and enters on the history of coinage in Ireland, to meet the argument derived from supposed precedents. This letter is an admirable specimen of advocacy, equally remarkable for the dexterity with which it misrepresents, and the promptness with which it seizes and overturns fallacies. The fourth letter is addressed to "the whole people of Ireland," and enters more directly and undisguisedly on those points, which in the previous letters he had cautiously and indirectly introduced. Here he entered on the immediate object which we have already stated.

These letters were accompanied by numerous squibs of satire, ballad, lampoon, and epigram, of which he now poured torrents from the press, and circulated in every shape. They told with immense effect upon every class. The grand jury and principal inhabitants of the liberty of St Patrick entered into an association to refuse Wood's coin. "The timid were encouraged, the doubtful confirmed, the audacious inflamed, and the attention of the public so rivetted to the discussion, that it was no longer shocked at the discussion of the more delicate questions which it involved; and the viceroy and his abettors complained, that any proposition, however libellous and treasonable, was now published without hesitation, and perused without horror, providing that Wood and his half-pence could be introduced into the tract."*

The duke of Grafton found himself unequal to such an emergency, and even Walpole admitted that there was a necessity for retreat. To avoid compromising the dignity of the government, he proceeded to retract the measure by degrees. But his dexterity was shown in one expedient. Lord Carteret, a man of great abilities, a favourite at court, his enemy, and one of his cabinet, whom he both feared and vainly

* Scott.

desired to get rid off, had been suspected of originating the entire affair, and of having secretly supplied the information of which the Drapier had made such tremendous use. Him Walpole determined to send over as lord-lieutenant, to encounter a storm of his own raising. He was directed to give effect to Wood's patent if possible; but permitted in the contrary case to put an end to it. It was in the interval between this appointment and his arrival in Ireland, that the fourth letter of the Drapier appeared, and gave a turn to the conflict which might have relieved him from much of this delicate entanglement, as it left no longer a doubt of the course expedient for the English government.

But even in the moment of retreat another difficulty presented itself. A tract which daringly discussed the rights of the Irish legislature and the limits of the royal prerogative, the independence of Ireland, and all the dangerously popular questions arising from these topics, in a manner equally bold and inflammatory, could not be allowed to brave authorities without question; and lord Carteret had scarcely set his foot upon the shore, when he found himself under the necessity to offer a reward of £300 for the Drapier. Harding, the printer, was at once arrested and thrown into prison; and for a time, the dean had reason to apprehend a discovery. That courage which was a high attribute of his character did not quail. He went straight to the first levee, "burst through the circle by which he was surrounded, and in a firm and stern voice demanded of lord Carteret the meaning of these severities against a poor industrious tradesman, who had published two or three papers designed for the good of his country." Carteret, to whom Swift was personally well known, and who could have no doubt of his being the author of the Drapier's Letters, evaded the expostulation by an apt and elegant quotation from Virgil:

"Res dura, et regni novitas, me talia cogunt
Moliri."

Another anecdote on this occasion, related by most of Swift's biographers, is very illustrative of his character. We may give it best in the language of Scott. "A servant named Robert Blakeley, whom he intrusted to copy out and convey to the press the Drapier's Letters, chanced one evening to absent himself without leave. His master charged him with treachery; and, upon his exculpation, insisted that at least he neglected his duties as a servant, because he conceived his master was in his power. 'Strip your livery,' he commanded; 'begone from the deanery instantly, and do the worst to revenge yourself that you dare do.' The man retired, more grieved that his master doubted his fidelity, than moved by his harsh treatment. He was replaced, at the intercession of Stella; and Swift afterwards rewarded his fidelity by the office of verger in the cathedral of St Patrick's." Another anecdote may be taken from the same page, "that while Harding was in jail, Swift actually visited him in the disguise of an Irish country clown, *or spalpeen*.* Some of the printer's family or friends, who chanced to visit

* We suspect that Sir Walter is mistaken as to the meaning of the word "*spalpeen*"—a term indicative of contempt, used by the "country clown" to designate a particular class of people who are in the custom of emigrating towards harvest in search of work.

him at the same time, were urging him to earn his own release, by informing against the author of the *Drapier's Letters*. Harding replied steadily, that he would rather perish in jail, before he would be guilty of such treachery and baseness. All this passed in Swift's presence, who sat beside them in silence, and heard with apparent indifference a discussion which might be said to involve his ruin. He came and departed without being known to any one but Harding."

It will be unnecessary to follow up here the minute detail of the consequences of this transaction. The trial of Harding came on, and the grand jury ignored the bill, in opposition to chief justice Whitshed. They were by him dissolved; and the new grand jury took the further step of passing a vote of thanks to the author of the *Drapier's Letters*, in a presentment in which they brought in Wood's scheme as a fraud upon the public. Wood's patent was surrendered, and he received an indemnity of £3000 a-year for twelve years.

From this the popularity of Swift rose to a degree of enthusiasm which has no parallel in our history, as it was not merely that of a demagogue acquiring an influence by the propagation of popular delusion, but pervaded all ranks alike. The "*Drapier's head*" became a sign; his portrait was engraved, woven upon handkerchiefs, struck upon medals." A club was formed, calling itself the *Drapier's Club*; to which was due the first collection of the letters published in his name. Though, as Sir Walter observes, his faults and infirmities were of a description peculiarly obnoxious to the Irish people, this did not in the least interfere with the enthusiastic veneration in which he was held. Unpopular beyond all men in his habits of thought and action; proud, arrogant, presumptuous; uncompromising in small things, and devoid of both the will and the manners to conciliate; he was followed as an idol in the streets; and if he travelled, received like a prince in the towns. When Walpole talked of having him arrested, some one present who knew something of Ireland, asked him if he could spare ten thousand men to execute such a writ. This exaggeration at least indicates the truth.

In the height of the popularity thus won, Swift retired for a while to his friend Sheridan's, near Trim, with Stella and Mrs Dingley. Of this retirement, and of the way of living there, we shall speak more particularly in a memoir of Sheridan himself. A short extract from Scott's memoir will now better suit the brevity we must observe:—

"Dr Sheridan, highly respectable for wit, learning, and an uncommon talent for the education of youth, and no less distinguished by his habits of abstraction and absence, and by a simplicity of character which ill suited with his worldly interest, had been Swift's friend of every mood, and of all hours, since the dean's fatal retirement into Ireland. A happy art of meeting and answering the raillery of his friend, and of writing with facility verses on domestic jests or occasional incidents, amused Swift's lighter moments; while Sheridan's sound and extensive erudition enlightened those which were more serious. It was in his society that Swift renewed his acquaintance with classical learning, and perused the works which amused his retirement. In the invitations sent to the dean, Sheridan was always included; nor was Swift to be seen in perfect good humour, unless

when he made part of the company." To which Sir Walter adds some mention of the influence which his wit and good humour had in turning away the dean's violent fits of irritation, and tranquillizing his temper; and mentions Swift's great regard for him.

In this retreat, his main occupation was the correction and transcription of *Gulliver's Travels*. When this was completed, he came to the resolution of once more paying a visit to England, whither he accordingly went soon after, in 1726.

The particulars of this visit have a deep interest, but an interest not by any means to be conveyed in any summary relation. They are to be found at length in a variety of separate narrations, and are vividly illustrated in the volumes of published correspondence which form a part of his works. Many of his former friends were still in London, and were happy to receive him. Bolingbroke had returned to live in England; restored to his estate, but not to his honours. Pope had advanced to the meridian of his reputation. Between their homes he lived, dividing his time chiefly between Twickenham and Dawley.

Immediately after his arrival, he dined with Walpole, by whom he was received with all courtesy; and obtained an audience soon after, for the purpose of stating his views of Irish affairs. Walpole heard him with patience and attention; and when he had finished his statement, explained his own views of the questions on which he had been addressed. They differed very much from those of the dean. After the conference, they separated with mutual courtesy. The dean immediately after wrote to lord Peterborough, who had obtained his audience for him, a letter, in which he gave a full and minute account of what passed on both sides, and concluded by a request that his lordship would give it to Sir Robert Walpole, and desire him to read it. This letter may be found among his correspondence,* and contains a full account of Swift's sentiments on the affairs of Ireland at the time. We may refer to it again, but cannot afford space to notice it further at present.

During the eight years of seclusion which the dean had passed in Ireland, many changes had been taking place, both in himself and in the scene to which he now returned, as one come home from exile. With respect to his friends, as Pope writes, a little previous to his arrival—"After so many dispersions and so many divisions, two or three of us may yet be gathered together." The earl of Oxford had died a little before, and Bolingbroke had but recently returned: Arbuthnot was just recovered from a dangerous and distressing malady: Gay was retained in the court of the prince, and with seemingly good hopes of preferment. They were the chief representatives of those brilliant days of importance and expectation which had passed never again to return. Of these, Pope had been in the interval steadily advancing in fortune and fame: he still not the less retained a deep-seated remembrance of the dean's early and efficient kindness, in laying the first foundations of his success: he now became the most attached and best loved of Swift's friends, and had the happiness to

* Works, vol. xvii. p. 68.

have him for his guest during the time that he remained near town. They were in some respects ill sorted, being both nervous, fretful, and dependent on the care and attention of others. Pope's extreme feebleness of frame and constitution are universally known: the dean was subject to fits of giddiness and deafness; and, what was far more prejudicial to companionship, to paroxysms of the most furious rage on very slight occasions. It is, however, easy to feel, that with one so kind and so weak as Pope, a strong sense of delicacy and of affection must have operated to constrain this latter infirmity, of all others the hardest to reconcile with unbroken attachment. Bolingbroke had endeavoured to obtain tranquillity from study, and dignity from the affectation of philosophy, while engaged in meditating a secret blow at christianity, which he wanted spirit to strike. He sought refuge in the sententious morality of heathenism, though the history of both his previous and after life indicate no more sincere regard to virtue, about which he has written well and even truly, than about religion, of which he was altogether ignorant: beneath the outward surface of calm and secluded composure, there ran a deep and turbid under-current of vindictiveness, treachery, and political intrigue; to an extent indeed which, but for the multitude and plainness of the proofs, could not easily be believed. He was, nevertheless, possessed of strong affections, governed and directed by good taste; and, in despite of the deserved admiration which some of his writings have received from a few eminent men of letters, the better part of his fame is preserved by his friendship with Pope and Swift. He was now restored to his estates by the generosity of Walpole, whom he repaid by all sorts of libels, lampoons, and epigrams, which money or hospitality could purchase, or his own ever active genius produce. He received Swift as one whom he respected and loved, and whom he might in some turn of affairs find useful; but he knew too well the haughty and intractable spirit of the dean to admit him to the inner mysteries of his heart. It is hard to say to what extent Swift was imposed on. We know that his real respect for rank and distinguished reputation were in some cases liable to influence his judgment; and it must undoubtedly be admitted as a practical maxim in the intercourse of the world, that it is unnecessary to pry too far into the secret frailties of those with whom we happen to be joined in bonds of regard and mutual kindness. The limit to such a maxim is evident enough, but few can fairly apply a test which but few can bear; and the spirit of life is, after all, mutual toleration. It must, in the case before us, be remembered, indeed, how little, comparatively, of the character of Bolingbroke could have been known to Swift, and how many plausible grounds there were for one who wished to look favourably. It is indeed amusing to read some of Pope's expressions of veneration, to be found in his letters, or in those noble lines of immortal poetry addressed to the philosophic genius of St John, and to reflect at the same time on the known character of the man. "Here," says Pope to Swift, "is one who was once a powerful planet, but has now (after long experience of all that comes of shining,) learned to be content with returning to his first point, without the thought or ambition of shining at all."

But for the aspiring spirit of the dean, the scene had still an attrac-

tion of that nature which is least likely to have any immediate or direct indication. The prince and princess of Wales kept their court at Leicester house, where they collected about them a party of distinguished persons, who were discontented with the government, and aimed to cultivate an interest of their own in opposition to the court. The princess was herself a woman of great amiability, talent, and address. She was extensively acquainted with books, and cultivated the conversation of learned men, by whom it was her pride and pleasure to be surrounded. Her "favourite science" seems to have been the metaphysical; and she kept up a correspondence with Leibnitz, and discussed abstruse questions in speculative divinity with Clarke. Her apartments re-echoed the voice of controversy, or resounded with the sally of wit. Over her husband she possessed the most unbounded influence; and, without the assumption of authority, occupied his entire confidence,—so that he was almost wholly governed by her advice. He kept a court mistress rather in compliance with the vicious fashion of the time, than from any disposition to inconstancy; but the queen still was as much the object of his inclinations as of his esteem and respect, and kept the mistress completely in subjection to her will. As this lady occupied a distinguished place among the friends of Swift, we must say a word or two on her history. She was the daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, for whom she obtained a title, and afterwards the earldom of Buckinghamshire. She married a Mr Howard, who afterwards succeeded to the earldom of Suffolk. Soon after their marriage, they went to Hanover, in the hope to obtain the good will of the electoral family, in whose favour all expectation then began to centre. Mrs Howard, who possessed a pleasing exterior, much address, and a considerable share of good sense and observation, became soon a favourite with the electoral princess Sophia, then, according to the act of settlement, heiress to the English throne. After the accession of George I., Mrs Howard was appointed bedchamberwoman to the princess of Wales, and in this station presently attracted the fancy of the prince. The virtue of Mrs Howard was not proof against the *prestige* of royal attention, the seduction of expected wealth and influence, or the low ambition which is known in courts, and out of them is not easily understood. Her husband was disagreeable, and indifferent alike about her person and his own honour; but such an opportunity of obtaining some improvement of his straitened means was not to be let pass: he made as much of the matter as he could. One evening he rushed with pretended fury into the court-yard of the palace, and called for his wife so violently, that he was turned out by the guards. He then had recourse to more formal means, and contrived in different ways to keep Mrs Howard in a state of alarm, until at last he obtained what he wanted; and, after a regular negotiation, he sold his claim to her for a pension of £1,200 a-year.

It does not very much exalt the characters of Swift and his eminent friends, to trace in their correspondence the too evident connivance at all the baseness and immorality of such a career. They seem to have affected to overlook the real character of her intercourse with the king: but the plain interest expressed so often in their letters, in the success of a criminal and dishonourable treaty, is incapable of being strained

into such ignorance. The truth is, that they were all committing a most signal mistake. They had in view the precedents of court favour: they were thinking of the duchess of Kendal, and the old ascendancy of mistresses and favourites. But the case was reversed: the princess not only kept the bedchamber-woman within her province; but she set herself against those who appeared to seek for anything through her influence. This was really the error of Swift and his friends Pope, Arbuthnot, and Gay, and ended in their being disappointed in all their aims and wishes. It is mentioned, to the praise of Walpole's sagacity, that he early discerned the real state of these nice and delicate soundings, and afterwards paid his court directly and adroitly to the queen, with an entire disregard of Mrs Howard. Many curious stories concerning Mrs Howard have been preserved by Horace Walpole in his *Reminiscences*.

Among the many notices of this visit, to be found in the correspondence between the dean and his friends, the following passage occurs in a letter from Pope:—"Since then, I had a conference with Sir Robert Walpole, who expressed his desire of having seen you again before you left us. He said he observed a willingness in you to live among us; which, indeed, I did not deny," &c. To this Sir Walter appends a note. "Walpole perhaps foresaw an approaching union between the dean and Pulteney, and was probably not unwilling to give opening to a reconciliation which might prevent such a coalition;" but he goes on to say that he was late, as a correspondence between the dean and Mr Pulteney had already commenced. The dean was introduced to the princess of Wales at her own desire, by Dr Arbuthnot, whose note apprizing him of her royal highness's appointment is among the other correspondence, and dated April 5, 1726.

The dean was, however, for the present interrupted in this temporary renewal of his intercourse with the great world, by the distressing intelligence of the illness of Stella, who had for some time been in a state of rapid decline. The letters which he now received from Sheridan and others were so alarming, that he became exceedingly agitated and restless, and left Mr Pope, with whom he lived. He first took lodgings in London, where he seems to have been in daily expectation of receiving accounts of her death. Sheridan's account was on July 19th; on the 4th of August, in a letter from London to Pope, we find him "gathering up his luggage," and preparing for his journey. On the 17th, he set out; and from the letters written in the interim, there is perceptible, much reluctance to depart—a part of which may be set down to an unwillingness to be on the spot, in case the death which he so apprehended should occur.

On the 1st of September, there is a letter from Dublin to Mrs Howard, which clearly indicates that she had obtained in his affections the place formerly held by lady Masham. He thus addresses her:—"Madam, being perpetually teased with the remembrance of you, by the sight of your ring on my finger, my patience at last is at an end; and in order to be revenged, I have sent you a piece of Irish plaid," &c. "I must likewise tell you, to prevent your pride, my intention is to use you very scurvily; for my real design is, that when the princess asks you where you got that fine night-gown, you are to say that it is

an Irish plaid sent you by the dean of St Patrick's; who, with his most humble duty to her royal highness, is ready to make her such another present, at the terrible expense of eight shillings and threepence a-yard, if she will descend to honour Ireland by receiving and wearing it; and in recompense, I, who govern the vulgar, will take care to have her royal highness's health drunk by five hundred weavers, as an encourager of the Irish manufactory." The latter part of this extract we have made, because the incident it mentions was afterwards frequently reverted to with some bitterness by the dean, when he found himself neglected by the queen.

In the interval of his stay in Ireland, nothing occurred of sufficient importance to detain our narrative. A letter from Mr Pulteney hints at some secret project, which Sir Walter, in a note, conjectures to be relative to the *Craftsman*, an antiministerial paper which he set up, and to which Swift lent his occasional aid. A letter from Arbuthnot conveys the sentiments at this time expressed by the princess concerning the dean. "I had a great deal of discourse with your friend, her royal highness. She insisted on your wit and good conversation. I told her royal highness that was not what I valued you for, but for being a sincere, honest man, and speaking truth when others were afraid to speak it." Another, of a later date, mentions the fate of the plaid sent to Mrs Howard. "The princess immediately seized on your plaid for her own use, and has ordered the young princesses to be clad in the same. When I had the honour to see her, she was reading Gulliver," &c.; and, after some very amusing anecdotes, which we exclude with regret, the doctor goes on to say—"Gulliver is in everybody's hands. Lord Scarborough, who is no inventor of stories, told me that he fell in with a master of a ship, who told him that he was very well acquainted with Gulliver; but that the printer had mistaken—that he lived in Wapping, and not in Rotherhithe. I lent the book to an old gentleman, who went immediately to his map, to look for Lilliput." A letter from Mrs Howard follows, in which the dean is commissioned to send over more plaid for the princess. The measure is given in terms which appear to have emanated from the princess herself—"the height of the Brobdignag dwarf, multiplied by $2\frac{1}{2}$." For a "short method, you may draw a line of 20 feet, and upon that, by two circles, form an equilateral triangle; then, measuring each side, you will find the proper quantity and proper division." The goods were to be carefully sent, so as to escape the vigilance of the custom-house; and the money was to be ready against their arrival. In his replies to this and other letters in which Gulliver is alluded to, the dean affects mystery and misunderstanding, in his own peculiar vein of playful irony.

The immense and instantaneous celebrity of Gulliver's Travels, published in the November of this year, needs no description. It was read by every class, and afforded appropriate interest for all. For the higher ranks, its keen political satire gave an added zest to the strange mixture of wit, irony, and burlesque, to which the writer contrived to impart a tone of reality, and the interest of a traveller's tale. Sir Walter gives a long and most interesting critique upon it, in which are explained many of the allusions which it contains to the persons and events of his time: but this occupies no less than twenty pages of his memoir,

and can neither be compressed nor quoted consistently with our present limits. It will be enough here to mention that his description of Flimnap, the premier, which alludes to Sir Robert Walpole, is supposed to have been a bar to the further promotion which he had reason to expect on the accession of George II.

Stella's health soon appeared to recover; and in March, 1727, the dean once more returned to England. He spent the summer partly at Mr Pope's, and partly rambling about in his company to the country seats of his friends the lords Oxford, Bathurst, &c.; and also in improving his acquaintance with Pulteney and other rising men, whose success might, on a future day, be the means of his own advancement. Bolingbroke had entered into a coalition with Pulteney, and showered a storm of abuse against the impassive front of the minister; of whom Swift complained, that he set no value on genius, and had "none but beasts and blockheads for his penmen." Towards the close of summer, the dean had formed the intention to pass two months in France, where his reputation had obtained great celebrity: on this occasion he received a letter from Voltaire, enclosing a letter of introduction to the Comte de Morville, secretary of state; and explaining other provisions he had made, to secure him a satisfactory reception. But just as he was ready to set out, the death of George I. opened other prospects, and interrupted his journey. Here, the affectation of having nothing to ask, probably led the dean to assume the appearance of being guided by the advice of Mrs Howard, who strenuously urged it upon him not to stir. This view of his motives will find support, if the reader has before him the nearly childish frowardness which he showed at the time of his preferment by lord Oxford, which displays the same indications described by himself in his letter to Sheridan on this occasion. "I was just ready to go to France when the news of the king's death arrived, and I came to town in order to begin my journey. But I was desired to delay it, and I then determined a second time; when, upon some new incidents, I was with great vehemence dissuaded from it by certain persons whom I could not disobey." The same letter affords a much stronger view of the writer's mind, though not so suited for extraction, as being more scattered into broken hints. A "million of schemes"* which busied himself and his friends are incidentally mentioned, and their hopes of improving their position plainly stated. "It is agreed," he says, "that the ministry will be changed, but the others will have a soft fall; although the king must be excessive generous if he forgives the treatment of some people."

Sir Robert Walpole had, nevertheless, secured himself; and he appears to have been favoured by circumstances. When he waited on the prince with an account that the king had died upon his journey, he asked "to whom it was his pleasure to entrust the drawing up of the address to the council." The king replied, "To Sir Spencer Compton." This was decisive; and Walpole, considering his reign over, waited on Sir Spencer with the king's commands. Sir Spencer was not equal to the occasion: he was paralyzed by a seeming emer-

* Swift did not, however, enter with any of his usual spirit into those schemes which he considered injudicious.

gency, and in his perplexity turned to Walpole himself for aid. Walpole drew up the address. He immediately after, while matters were yet unsettled, had a conference with the queen, who was anxious on the subject of her own settlement—which Walpole engaged to have raised to £100,000, while Compton would only undertake £60,000. The interference of the queen quickly re-established Walpole, to the vexation and astonishment of those who were hoping to rise upon his ruin.

In August, while residing with Pope, the dean was visited by an attack of the deafness to which he was liable, and resolved to leave his host, whom he thought "too sickly and complaisant." "I believe," he also says, "this giddiness is the disorder that will, at the last, get the better of me." In a letter to Mrs Howard, he says of this complaint—"About two hours before you were born, I got my giddiness by eating an hundred golden pippins at a time at Richmond."

On the 19th of August, he received from Sheridan an account of Stella's last illness. We must give one short extract from his answer. "I have had your letter of the 19th, and expect, before you read this, to receive another from you, with the most fatal news that can ever come to me, unless I should be put to death for some ignominious crime. I continue very ill with my giddiness and deafness, of which I had two days' intermission, but since worse; and I shall be perfectly content if God shall please to call me away at this time. Here is a triple cord of friendship broke, which hath lasted thirty years, twenty-four of which in Ireland. I beg of you, if you have not writ to me before you get this, to tell me no particulars, but the event in general: my weakness, my age, my friendship, will bear no more." He immediately removed to his cousin Lancelot's house, in New Bond Street. There he received another letter from Sheridan, which he was afraid to open, and kept for an hour in his pocket, before he could collect resolution. The event he feared was, however, protracted. He returned soon after to Ireland, where he found Mrs Johnson alive. She languished until the following January, 1728, in which month she died, in the 44th year of her age.

We have already had occasion to notice the peculiar circumstances relative to her will; but Sir Walter Scott, in a note on the passage in which he mentions the circumstance, brings forward a statement from doctor Sheridan, in which it is alleged, that she made her will during her last illness, in a vindictive spirit. "But soon after, roused by indignation, she inveighed against his cruelty in the bitterest terms, and sending for a lawyer, made her will, bequeathing her fortune in her own name, to charitable uses." The act took place in Dr Sheridan's presence, and therefore Scott admits that it is good authority; though he prefers Mr Theophilus Swift's, and mentions some very strong considerations which lessen the value of Sheridan's statement. We notice it here simply to observe that Sheridan's statement loses whatever value it might otherwise have, when compared with a statement made by the dean himself, in a letter written from London in the previous year, July 15, 1726, on the first account of her illness, in which he says, "I wish that it could be brought about that she might make her will. Her intentions are to leave the interest of all her fortune to her

mother and sister during their lives, and afterwards to St Stephen's hospital, to purchase lands for such uses there as she designs."* This reduces the authority of Dr Sheridan to a very small value indeed, and shows that he had in some way been misled by a false assumption, or that his memory betrayed him. The existence of such an inconsistency also tends to diminish very much the force of all the statements on the same side, as they indicate a very strong leaning to a conclusion.

From this point of time, the incidents of the dean's life become far less important; and considering the very unusual length to which, in spite of our best efforts, we have been compelled to protract this memoir, we must now at last come to a close as summarily as possible.

In Ireland there was nothing that could give Swift's intellect and passions the full excitement of which they were susceptible, and which was a want of his nature; he was the inhabitant of some broad element, cooped up within a narrow cell; growing infirmities, and the sense of the approach of old age, rendered such a state more gloomy, by cutting off the last consolation of hope. With a temperament irritable, and perhaps inclined to discontent, it may be easily conceived that these inclinations must have been sadly aggravated under the present circumstances. Among the intimates with whom he maintained a friendly intercourse, there were a few whom he loved, and a few more whose society just helped to keep off the demon of loneliness, from a spirit which preyed upon itself; but in these intimacies, there was also a sad want of that equality which is required for the full and healthful exercise of the social powers and capacities, and of that respect which is necessary to give interest to conversation. It cannot be concealed, that generally speaking, among his intimates, the dean had no companion. His former companions, the associates of his better days, were Pope and Bolingbroke, Gay and Arbuthnot, and those who formed their brilliant circle—and though jealous, irritable, and froward, in his intercourse with courts, the dean loved to breathe within the atmosphere sunned by the beams of royalty. Deprived of these gay and proud excitements, and that congenial intercourse, he dwelt in a gloomy home, uncheered by any tie. His life, from henceforth, is marked by uniform gloom, discontent, and irritation, and by occasional excitements which were sometimes an intermission, and sometimes but the delirium of his malady. Of this last-mentioned description, might be regarded much of his intercourse with the inner circle of intimates who were in the habit of collecting round him twice a-week in the deanery house, to dispel its sombre atmosphere of dark dreams, by extravagant mirth and humour carried far beyond the limits within which they are usually tolerated. In those meetings, the order of the day was prank and practical humour, and boisterous hilarity, differing from the uproarious abandonment of wild children in no way, but that there was a little more mischief of design, and a little less equality. Swift who, in his moments of excitement, lost all sense of the dignity or self-respect of others, was in some re-

* Vol. xvii. p. 77.

spects unsafe to trifle with,—he had no dislike to meet the coarse humour which he could repay; but in the wildest flow of folly, the heedless wit who might be tempted to infringe a hair's-breadth upon the pride or the feelings of the dean, might as well have trodden upon a viper. Such a circle, nevertheless, kept up the cold excitement of his weary and monotonous existence, which probably appears invested in memoirs with an interest that did not really belong to it, because inevitably in these records it is only those marked passages of life, which form the exceptions that are brought together, and made to fill an apparent space, while the slow and weary stages between these stirring or lucid intervals are not and cannot be represented.

During the lieutenancy of Carteret, the dean exercised a private influence with this nobleman, in behalf of his own friends, for some of whom he was so fortunate as to obtain small preferments: but in the efforts which he made to be admitted to any station of trust, which might enable him to serve the interests of his country, he was uniformly refused. The following narration is taken from "*Swiftiana*" by Scott, from whose note we extract it: "He never could prevail upon lord Carteret to nominate him one of the trustees of the linen manufactory, or even a justice of peace. His lordship always replied, 'I am sure, Mr Dean, you despise those feathers and would not accept of them.' The dean answered, 'No, my lord, I do not, as I might be serviceable to the public in both capacities; but as I would not be governed by your excellency, nor job at the board, or suffer abuses to pass there, or at a quarter-session assizes, I know that you will not indulge me, for the good of this unhappy nation; but if I were a worthless member of parliament, or a bishop, would vote for the court and betray my country, then you would readily grant my request.' Lord Carteret replied, with equal freedom and politeness, 'what you say is literally true, and therefore you must excuse me.'"

As might be presumed, his spirits often found their more congenial and healthful exercise, in efforts for the public good; he endeavoured to rouse the people to a sense of their just rights, and impress those in office and station, with a sense of what was due to justice, humanity, and good policy. In this vocation, he published numerous tracts of various descriptions, of which Sir Walter distinguishes one as an "inimitable piece of irony," in which he proposes a plan for the relief of distress, by causing the rich to feed upon poor people's children. In this, the method and style of a real speculation are so gravely kept up, the circumstantial details and calculations so precisely stated, and the usual tone of the earnest projector so critically supported; that it completely imposed upon some foreign economist, as a proof of the extreme destitution of Ireland.

Such conduct exasperated the government party in Ireland, and confirmed the prejudices of the court. He on his own part became gradually more and more violent in his dislike to the queen, the premier, and even to Mrs Howard. It was not until a little after his return into Ireland, that the actual inefficiency of this lady was made manifest by many circumstances, among which, that which came most prominently before the dean and his friends, was the fate of Gay, who having a promise of preferment from the princess, had in his simplicity

thought fit to devote himself to her bedchamber-woman, and accordingly after the accession of his ostensible patron to the crown, the claim which could not be set aside was satisfied by a preferment which marked more slight than favour, and Gay had the spirit to refuse it. This incident excited the indignation of his friends and was made the thesis for much severe reflection. But the dean had his own sense of injury treasured within his angry recollection; he secretly felt the derogatory position in which he had been placed, while he had worshipped an imaginary influence in the person of Mrs Howard; this lady, he felt, had, by the illusion of her smiles, abetted by his own mistake, diverted him from the true source of court favour; and the thought, too obvious to be missed, and too mortifying to be confessed, must have risen, clothed in all the gall of bitterness to his heart. This spirit breaks out in many of his letters to herself and to her friends, in which the heedless reader is surprised at the mixture of irritability and want of candour; while a moment's reflection shows the true temper of the writer, moved by a silent anger and quarrelling about straws.

The remainder of Swift's life is little diversified by marked events; though it would be an easy task to collect a volume of amusing and characteristic anecdotes. But having in this memoir endeavoured to discuss with some fulness, those points of prominent interest, which have continued from Swift's time to the present to be discussed as doubtful and curious, we shall endeavour to come more briefly to a conclusion.

To the very latest period during which he retained the possession of his understanding, he continued to exert himself, according to his own views, for the advantage of Ireland; with the native independence of his character, combating alike the opposite pretensions or corruption of different parties.

As dean of St Patrick's, his conduct was, according to every account, exemplary. He paid the most strict attention to the affairs and temporalities of the cathedral; watched with the most unremitting vigilance the conduct of all who were placed under his jurisdiction, and was not less constant and careful in the faithful discharge of his own duties. He preached in his turn, and administered the sacrament once a-week. From that peculiar scorn of affectation and hypocrisy which was a part of his character, he rather suppressed the appearance of piety; and this error (for such we must regard it,) was apparently aggravated by other peculiarities of manner, already known to the reader; he is nevertheless well ascertained to have been both assiduous and fervent in his private devotions, for which he had regular hours, and a private closet to which it was so much his habit to retire, that in the very latest moments, during which he showed any signs of recollection, this habit still asserted itself.

In the perusal of his correspondence throughout this latter interval of his life, the reader may with melancholy interest trace the departure of earthly desires and expectations; the diminution of all enjoyments, the increase of infirmities, and the seemingly slow, but ever swift and sure passing away of the vain illusions of life. In Swift, a morbid tone, which was constitutionally inherent in his character,

threw a shade of more than common gloom on those prospects of declining life which disease can hardly exaggerate, and which our healthful spirits only conceal; for many years he awoke each morning possessed by the contemplations of death; and though easily excited to momentary mirth, yet his habitual mood was one of suffering, and unhappy reflection and recollection.

Yet through a long interval of increasing infirmity he continued to retain the powers of his intellect; and several of the most bright and spirited effusions belong to a late period of his life: the anecdote of his quarrel with Mr Sergeant Bettisworth, occasioned by a rhyme, is well known, and would lose by being briefly related. His attack on the Irish Commons, under the denomination of the "legion club," as it was the last, so it is among the most spirited of his satirical productions. In the transcription of this poem, he was seized with a violent fit of the giddiness to which he had all his life been subject, and never entirely shook off its effects. The composition here mentioned was chiefly provoked by an effort of the house of commons to oppress the Irish clergy, against whose rights country gentlemen have always been too ready to conspire.

About the same time he strongly resisted a plan of primate Boulter's, for diminishing the value of the gold coin; this we shall state in our notice of that prelate: it is mentioned as the last instance of his interference in public affairs.

He nevertheless was not unoccupied by the avocations of literature, but had in 1737 formed a strong desire to publish his history of the peace of Utrecht. His friends soon obtained a knowledge of his intention, and the earl of Oxford became very anxious to have the manuscript submitted to his revision, before it should be published. Several letters passed between them in consequence, and the proposal was also urged by Mr Lewis and others who felt a deep and personal interest in the representations which the dean might be led to make. The dean knew very well that he had not in this work uniformly consulted the private prepossessions of his friends, and was reluctant to have the trouble and irritation attendant upon such an inspection, and he evaded the request of his friend for some time, but at last gave way. Many strong objections were made, among which the chief was, the danger to be incurred by the severity with which the characters of several of the leading whigs were drawn. The consequence was, that the history was suppressed at the time; the original copies were lost, and a publication appeared from some surreptitious copy in 1758. It seems to be a curious circumstance, that the anonymous publisher was violent in his opposition to the politics of the work—a fact displayed in the preface.

The dean also at this time meditated the publication of his "Instructions to Servants," a fragment on which he is said to have bestowed great pains, and which is amongst the most characteristic of all his productions. It seems also to have been the result of an experience, arising from the dean's peculiar habits in his domestic life: this connexion is easily traceable in a variety of very curious stories, which are very generally known, having for the most part found their way into numerous collections of anecdotes. They uniformly indicate the

despotic temper and the peremptory decision of his mind, combined with, and often controlled by, his love of frolic and humour; nor are there wanting in them, pleasing instances of the interposition of a benevolent temper. There is a peculiar vindictiveness marked at times in the exercise of singular fun and drollery, so as in some degree to remind the hearer of some of those monsters of fiction, which exercise a cat-like playfulness upon the terrors of their victims. The same stories also, as well as the instructions, mark the curious precision of the dean in observing the habits of servants. One of the effects of this habit and temper was the mixture of great occasional familiarity with his usual severity. In several instances, it also appears, that his own ways were no less keenly observed, and his own spirit caught by the intelligence of the servant: one case we relate for its extreme singularity:—"He and some friends resolved to celebrate a classical saturnalia at the deanery, and actually placed their servants at table, while they themselves attended upon them. The butler, who represented the dean, acted his master to the life. He sent Swift to the cellar in quest of some particular wine, then affected to be discontented with the wine he brought, and commanded him to bring another sort. The dean submissively obeyed, took the bottle to the sideboard and decanted it, while the butler still abused him in his own style, and charged him with reserving some of the grounds for his own drinking. The dean, it was observed, did not relish the jest; but it was carried on as long as it gave amusement: when the tables were removed, the scene reversed; an entertainment was served up for the proper guests, and everything conducted by the very servants who had partaken of the saturnalia, in an orderly and respectful manner."

Swift, though his infirmities confined him to Ireland, never ceased through the whole of this long interval to look with a gloomy longing to England. The peculiar nature of those infirmities was such as to require that he should have about him those who would accommodate themselves to his humours, and submit to his caprices, rather than the more congenial and more distinguished circle, in which habit, and the differences of rank, would render such concessions less to be looked for. Among his English intimates, the wish was also cherished for his presence among them. So late as 1732, Bolingbroke succeeded in negotiating an exchange between the deanery and the English living of Burfield in Berkshire. But it was now late to satisfy any favourite object of Swift's, and would have exacted a sacrifice both of rank and income, which at his time of life would be only attended by its obvious inconveniences. At the same time, the circle of his friends began to be broken by death: Gay died in 1732, and Arbuthnot in 1734, and the shock is apparent which these events gave to one who was himself fast descending into the shadows of decay. "The death of Mr Gay and the doctor," he says in one of his letters, "have been terrible wounds near my heart. Their living would have been a great comfort to me, although I should never have seen them; like a sum of money in a bank, from which I should receive at least annual interest, as I do from you, and have done from my lord Bolingbroke." And thus, one after another in the common progress so uniformly repeated in every human history, light after light faded and dropped away into

the silence of the tomb. Bolingbroke and Pope were the last survivors upon the scene: and the fast increase of their infirmities soon began to diminish, and finally terminate the intercourse between them,—the most painful circumstance of human friendships in this transitory scene.

The symptoms of decay were rapidly accumulating power in the dean, and giving no uncertain indication of the course which they were likely to take. His excessive irritability of temper, and the increasing frequency of those fits of vertigo to which he had so long been subject, appeared to show the chief point to which the progress of his diseases approached; and he had, it is known, himself always entertained a melancholy foreboding of insanity. Every reader may recollect the well-known story told by Dr Young, who mentioned that he was one of a walking party with the dean in 1717, and when the dean was missed at some part of their walk, he returned to look for him: he found him standing in silent meditation before an old elm tree, and when he accosted him, the dean pointed up to its summit which was in a state of decay, and said, "I shall be like that tree, I shall die at the top."

How far the disposition which he made of his property may have been influenced by this presentiment, is a question not to be distinctly ascertained; yet we can entertain but little doubt that it must have mainly operated to decide him. In 1732, he applied to the corporation for a plot of ground called Oxmantown Green, for the purpose of founding there an endowment for fools and lunatics; a request which was at once complied with. Some time after, there was a bill introduced into the parliament of Ireland, to prevent the disposition of property by will, for religious or charitable uses, and the dean petitioned for an exception in favour of his meditated plan, and stated, that unless it were complied with, he intended to remit his fortune to be applied to similar purposes in foreign countries. The mortmain act was not however brought in. Among the latest of his letters we find some upon the subject, chiefly relative to a plan for the investment of such monies as he possessed under several securities and in small sums, in some one secure and profitable estate; in this object he met with some impediments, and did not pursue it to any conclusion.

During the last years of his life, the dean was chiefly taken care of by his cousin Mrs Whiteway, a lady of great goodness, and very considerable talent, as appears from the numerous letters which are to be found in the published correspondence of the dean. Her care and tenderness had become essentially necessary to his health, and the ease of his declining age. He was exposed to the knavery and malignity of intimates of a different description. A Mr Wilson, one of the prebends of the cathedral, had succeeded in winding into his favour by flattery and sycophancy, and made use of the opportunities thus obtained, for the most base and infamous purposes. Among other things, it was observed that he always came to the deanery with an empty portmanteau, which was full on his departure, and suspicion being excited, it was soon found that large quantities of the dean's books were beginning to disappear. He some time after en-

deavoured to compel the dean by intimidation, to nominate him sub-dean of the chapter; and when Swift refused, had recourse to the most disgraceful acts of violence. On one occasion he prevailed upon the dean to visit him at his glebe-house, and it was while on their way in the dean's own carriage, that a most disgraceful scene occurred; the dean's servants interfered, and Wilson was turned out upon the road. He endeavoured to justify himself by a statement made on affidavit, in which he ascribes the struggle, which, says Sir Walter, "certainly took place, to a fit of frenzy on the part of the dean."

To such aggressions the infirmities and the failure of memory must at this time have exposed the dean, were it not for the continual and solicitous vigilance of Mrs Whiteway. Her influence was not, however, always successful to shut his door against the worthless parasite, who, by flattering his infirmities of temper, sometimes obtained an ascendancy. Upon one occasion, seeing that her efforts were to no purpose, after a long altercation, Mrs Whiteway stood up, and said, with a courtesy, "I'll leave you, Sir, to your flatterers and sycophants," and left the deanery in anger, for which, considering the known coarseness of the dean, she had perhaps abundant reason. The dean, whose anger was confined to the moment, quickly repented, and took means of a very characteristic nature to set all right between them. "For two days," as Scott tells the story, "she kept her resolution; and in that time had more than a dozen visitors at her door, who inquired with great concern for her health, after the unhappy circumstance that had befallen her. The fact was, the dean had gone round to his friends, and, with a serious face deplored the misfortune that he himself had witnessed, that Mrs Whiteway had been suddenly seized with a fit of madness, and had been taken home in a most distracted state of mind. When he thought the deception had sufficiently worked, he called, and making her a silent bow, sat down. Mr Deane Swift was in the room—being at that time on a visit at Mrs Whiteway's. The dean conversed with him about ten minutes, without interchanging a word or a look with Mrs Whiteway. He then got up, looked kindly at Mrs Whiteway, and turning to Mr Swift, 'half this visit was to you, Sir.' In uttering the word half, he glanced his eye at Mrs Whiteway, bowed to them both, and withdrew. Their cordiality was instantly renewed."

—Such is, perhaps, a sadly faithful portraiture of Swift's declining years. The morbid irritability of his temper was rapidly increasing in frequency and violence; and the fits of vertigo, to which he had during the greater part of his life been subject, were also becoming of more continual recurrence. A letter, which is said to be almost the last document which remains of him as a rational and reflecting being, is dated July 26, 1740, and is remarkable for the awful distinctness of the link which it supplies in the history of his closing years. It is written to Mrs Whiteway:—"I have been very miserable all night, and to-day extremely deaf and full of pain. I am so stupid and confounded, that I cannot express the mortification I am under both in body and mind. All I can say is, that I am not in torture, but I daily and hourly expect it. Pray let me know how your health is, and your

family. I hardly understand one word I write. I am sure my days will be very few; few and miserable they must be.

"I am for those few days, yours entirely,

"J. SWIFT.

"If I do not blunder, it is Saturday,

"July 26, 1740."

He shortly after fell into that state, the most dreadful that can be conceived among the most numerous and complicated ills of humanity. To assign remote causes for the disorders to which the intellect may become subject, is perhaps, presumptuous, and empirical: too little can be known of the mysterious combinations of the elements of mind and matter, to speak upon the subject without language which must contain some fallacy, or some unwarranted assumption. But in the contemplation of Swift's life there is a well-marked uniformity in the deeply traced lines of character and conduct, which seemed to converge to the actual result of insanity;—there seems, when viewed with reference to such a notion, some degree of this to have been transfused through all the courses of his life, appearing like some black undertexture that throws its saddening tint up through gay hues and glittering images. Of this complexion was the morbid prejudice; the exorbitant exaction of pride; the frenzied irritability; the splenetic and satirical indignation; and the inexplicably eccentric courses of conduct which he pursued towards Stella, as well as generally, in all that we have recorded of his domestic life.

The first form in which his disease appeared, was that of raging and frantic insanity. Trustees and guardians were immediately appointed for his estate and person. He was placed under the care of Dr Lyons, a clergyman, whose argument we have already noticed on the subject of his marriage. The following account was written by Dr Delany—we transcribe it entire:—"In the beginning of the year 1741, his understanding was so much impaired, and his passion so greatly increased, that he was utterly incapable of conversation. Strangers were not permitted to approach him, and his friends found it necessary to have guardians appointed of his person and estate. Early in the year 1742, his reason was wholly subverted, and his rage became absolute madness. The last person whom he knew was Mrs Whiteway; and the sight of her, when he knew her no longer, threw him into fits of rage so violent and dreadful, that she was forced to leave him; and the only act of kindness that remained in her power, was to call once or twice a-week at the deanery, inquire after his health, and see that proper care was taken of him. Sometimes she would steal a look at him when his back was towards her, but did not dare to venture into his sight. He would neither eat nor drink while the servants who brought him his provisions staid in the room. His meat, which was always served up ready cut, he would sometimes suffer to stand an hour upon the table before he would touch it: and at last, he would eat it walking; for, during this miserable state of his mind it was his constant custom to walk ten hours a-day. In October, 1742, after this frenzy had continued several months, his left eye swelled to the size of an egg, and the lid appeared to be so much in-

flamed and discoloured, that the surgeon expected it would mortify. Several large boils also broke out on his arms and body. The extreme pain of this tumour kept him waking near a month; and during one week, it was with difficulty that five persons kept him, by mere force, from tearing out his eyes. Just before the tumour perfectly subsided, and the pain left him, he knew Mrs Whiteway, took her by the hand, and spoke to her with former kindness: that day, and the day following, he knew his physician and surgeon, and all his family, and appeared so far to have recovered his understanding and temper, that the surgeon was not without hopes that he might once more enjoy society, and be amused with the company of his old friends. This hope was, however, but of short duration; for, a few days afterwards he sunk into a state of total insensibility, slept much, and could not, without great difficulty, be tempted to walk across the room. This was the effect of another bodily disease—his brain being loaded with water. Mr Stevens, an ingenious clergyman of his chapter, pronounced this to be the cause during his illness; and, upon opening his head, it appeared he was not mistaken; but, though he often entreated the dean's friends and physicians, that his skull might be trepanned, and the water discharged, no regard was paid to his opinion or advice.

"After the dean had continued silent a whole year in this helpless state of idiocy, his housekeeper went into the room, on the 30th of November, in the morning, telling him it was his birthday, and that bonfires and illuminations were preparing to celebrate it as usual—to this, he immediately replied—'It is all folly, they had better let it alone.'

"He would often attempt to speak his mind, but could not recollect words to express his meaning; upon which he would shrug up his shoulders, shake his head, and sigh heartily." We pass some portions of Dr Delany's interesting narrative, to the last instance of any attempt of the dean's to express himself by language. "In the year 1744, he now and then called his servant by his name, and once attempted to speak to him, but not being able to express his meaning, he showed signs of much uneasiness; and at last said, 'I am a fool.' Once afterwards, as the same servant was taking away his watch, he said, 'bring it here;' and when the same servant was breaking a hard coal, he said, 'that is a stone, you blockhead!'

"From this time he was perfectly silent, till the latter end of October, 1745, and then died without the least pang or convulsion, in the 78th year of his age."

This account, from the hand of Delany, may be best closed by the language of Scott:—"It was then that the gratitude of the Irish showed itself in the full glow of national enthusiasm. The interval was forgotten, during which their great patriot had been dead to the world, and he was wept and mourned, as if he had been called away in the full career of his public services. Young and old of all ranks surrounded the house to pay their last tribute of sorrow and affection. Locks of his hair were so eagerly sought after, that Mr Sheridan happily applies to the enthusiasm of the citizens of Dublin, the lines of Shakspeare:—

"Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And dying, mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it as a rich legacy
Unto their issue."

An extract from Mr Mason gives the most graphic sketch of the affecting incidents connected with this event:—"A person, who resides in my family is one of the few persons, perhaps the only one now living, who witnessed this melancholy spectacle. 'She remembers him as well as if it was but yesterday; he was laid out in his own hall, and great crowds went to see him. His coffin was open; he had on his head neither cap nor wig; there was not much hair on the front or very top; but it was long and thick behind, very white, and was like flax on the pillow. Mrs Barnard, his nursetender, sat at his head; but, having occasion to leave the room for a short time, some person cut a lock of his hair from his head, which she missed upon her return; and after that day, no person was admitted to see him.'"

It is on good grounds supposed that the executors intended to bury him with a privacy so strict as to involve an unsuitable obscurity. But they were deterred from such a course by the remonstrances of Mrs Whiteway. His remains were, however, interred privately, according to his own express desire, in the aisle of his cathedral, with the following inscription, from his own pen:—

HIC DEPOSITUM EST CORPUS
JONATHAN SWIFT, S.T.P.
HUIUS ECCLESIE CATHEDRALIS
DECANI:
UBI SÆVA INDIGNATIO
ULTERIUS COR LACERARE NEQUIT.
ABI VIATOR
ET IMITARE, SI POTERIS,
STRENUM PRO VIRILI LIBERTATE VINDICEM.
OBIT ANNO (1745);
MENSIS OCTOBRIIS DIE (19),
ÆTATIS ANNO (78.)

St George Ashe, Bishop of Derry.

BORN A.D. 1658.—DIED A.D. 1717.

ST GEORGE ASHE, though he filled many high situations, and had his share in the events and changes of his day, is now chiefly remembered as a name connected with the history of Swift, to whom he was tutor in the university. We shall therefore offer but a brief and summary view of the main incidents of his life.

He was a native of the county Roscommon; he entered the university of Dublin in 1679, and obtained a fellowship. In this laborious station he continued twelve years, and must, perhaps, have become a senior fellow before he was appointed provost to the university in 1692, in place of Dr Huntington, who resigned. During the tempo-

rary confusion of civil order which took place under the authority of James II. and his instrument Tyrconnel, the reader will recollect that Trinity college was specially distinguished as an object of the most unsparing and relentless persecution. With others, Ashe was driven into flight. In the interval of his exile, he engaged in the service of the English ambassador to Vienna, as chaplain and secretary for several years; nor did he think of returning to Ireland until the act of settlement had passed.

In 1695 he was preferred to the see of Cloyne, and consecrated in Dublin by Narcissus Marsh, archbishop of Dublin, and the bishops of Meath, Waterford, and Lismore. He was at the same time made a privy counsellor. Two years after he was translated to Clogher; here he continued nineteen years, until he was translated to Derry in 1716. He died the next year in Dublin.

He was chiefly, perhaps, distinguished among the learned, as a mathematical student, as he has left some mathematical tracts, and several papers which were printed in the transactions of the Royal Society. He also published four Sermons. He bequeathed his mathematical books to the university.

Dr Thomas Sheridan.

BORN A.D. 1684—DIED A.D. 1738.

THE birth-place of Sheridan is not accurately known, but is stated by some authors to have been in the county of Cavan, where his parents, who were in rather depressed circumstances, subsequently resided. He was born in 1684, and spent the early years of his life under the roof of his parents, who were unable to give him more than the common advantages of a school education. A friend of his family, however, perceiving indications of a more than common intelligence, under what he himself describes as not a very prepossessing exterior, sent him to the college of Dublin, and contributed liberally to his support while he remained there. He afterwards entered into holy orders, and established a school in Dublin, which obtained much celebrity, not only from Dr Sheridan's high literary attainments, and his attention to the morals of his pupils, but from the many distinguished characters who were educated there. He early formed a close intimacy and friendship with Swift, which commenced in the following characteristic manner:—Swift, who had heard much of Sheridan, as a man of wit and humour, desired a common friend to bring them together. They passed the day much to their mutual satisfaction; and, when the company broke up at night, Swift, in his usual ironical way said, "I invite all here present to dine with me next Thursday, except Mr Sheridan," but with a look which expressed that the invitation was made wholly on his account. They felt a mutual attraction towards each other, and had in many respects a similarity of taste and talent; and the points in which they differed made each of them still more necessary to the other. The sagacity, energy, and strong worldly sense of the dean, were invaluable adjuncts to the weaker, more ami-

able, and unadulterated character of his friend, and were the means of often extricating him from difficult and embarrassing positions into which his own inadvertence and uncalculating simplicity betrayed him. The dean's acquaintance being chiefly amongst those high in rank and station, he naturally wished to form around him a circle in which he could be more completely at his ease, and yet one in which his various powers would be equally valued and appreciated. To such a circle did Sheridan introduce him. His son, (Swift's biographer,) in writing of this period, says, that being "the first schoolmaster in the kingdom, an intimacy with those fellows of the college, whose acquaintance he chose to cultivate, followed of course, and there happened at that time to be a greater number of learned and ingenious men in that body than ever had been known before at any given period. An acquaintance naturally commenced with such families of distinction as intrusted their children to his care. Besides, as he was looked upon to be one of the most agreeable companions in the world, his society was much courted by all persons of taste." With a select set of these did Swift pass most of his festive hours for many years; but in the round of entertainments, care was always taken to engage Sheridan before a party was fixed, as the dean was never known to be in perfect good humour, but when he was one of the company.

As many of the evening parties were made up of this chosen set in the college, where subjects of literature were often the topics of conversation, Swift, who could not bear to be considered in an inferior light by any society into which he had entered, found it necessary to revive his knowledge of Greek and Latin, which, in the hurry of politics, and bustle of the world, he had so long neglected. With this view he invited Dr Sheridan to pass his vacations with him at the deanery, where an apartment was fitted up for him, which ever after went by his name; and, assisted by him, he went through a complete course of the Greek and Roman classics. This gave him a full opportunity of seeing the profound knowledge which Sheridan had of those languages; and he ever after pronounced him to be the best scholar in Europe. Thus living together frequently in the same house, in a communion of the same studies, and the same amusements, a closer connexion, and more intimate union followed, than Swift had ever known with any person except Stella. As Sheridan was the most open undisguised man in the world, it did not require much time or penetration to see into his whole character, in which Swift found many things to admire, many things to love, and little to offend. He had the strictest regard to truth, and the highest sense of honour; incapable of dissimulation in the smallest degree; generous to a fault; and charitable in the extreme. Of a proud independent spirit, which would not suffer him to crouch to the great ones of the world for any favour, nor to put on even the appearance of flattery, he had a heart formed for friendship, in which Swift had the first place. He possessed also a lively fancy, a ready invention, and a great fund of humour. He and Swift entered into an engagement that, for an entire year they should write to each other in verse every day, pledging themselves that the time of composition should not exceed five minutes. In the vast variety of *jeux d'esprit*, riddles, &c., to which this gave rise, it

may be imagined, that they were not all of equal merit; but there are few of those which remain, that do not evince some ingenuity, fancy, or humour. The well known inventory he drew up of Swift's possessions at Laracor, beginning, "An oaken broken elbow chair," &c., is a good specimen of this playful style of composition, which cheered many a gloomy hour of Swift's latter life. Subject as he was to violent fits of passion on small occasions, Sheridan frequently turned them aside by dexterously giving a playful direction to the subject, and compelling him to laugh, so that common friends used to say, he was the David, who alone could play the evil spirit out of Saul. When Swift was disengaged, he was in the habit of constantly calling in about the hour of dinner at Dr Sheridan's, and establishing himself in a small parlour where the two friends dined, *tête-à-tête*, supplied by slices of meat sent to them upon plates from the common table. One of Sheridan's infirmities was a total disregard of money, and his reckless expenditure of it often involved him in painful and perplexing difficulties. Swift, finding all advice and argument upon the subject fail, sought to diminish the evil by energetic efforts to increase his income. The school of Armagh, which was richly endowed with lands, besides producing a large annual income, becoming vacant, he applied to the primate (to whose promotion he had formerly contributed,) to grant him the nomination, which being acceded to, he at once offered it to Sheridan, who, with the infatuated pertinacity which marred all his prospects, refused to accept of it, being unable to relinquish the enjoyments of the society with which he was surrounded. The superior strength of Swift's character was strongly evidenced in this transaction, as he, dependent as he was upon the cheering influence of Sheridan's society, would have been a far greater sufferer by his removal than Dr Sheridan, with his numerous ties and engagements, could possibly have been.

On the appointment of lord Carteret to the government of Ireland, Swift, who was already intimate with him, wrote as follows:—"I have only one humble request to make to your excellency, which I had in my heart ever since you were nominated lord-lieutenant; and it is in favour of Mr Sheridan. I beg you will take your time for bestowing on him some church living, to the value of £150 per annum. He is agreed on all hands to have done more public service by many degrees, in the education of lads, than any five of his vocation; and has much more learning than usually falls to the share of those who profess teaching, being perfectly skilled in the Greek as well as Latin tongue, and acquainted with all the ancient writers in poetry, philosophy, and history. He is a man of good sense, modesty, and virtue. His greatest fault is a wife and four children; for which there is no excuse, but that a wife is thought necessary to a schoolmaster. His constitution is so weak that in a few years he must give up his business; and probably must starve, without some preferment, for which he is an ill solicitor. My lord bishop of Elphin has promised to recommend this request to your excellency; and I hope you will please to believe that it proceeds wholly from justice and humanity; for he is neither a dependant nor relation of mine."

Lord Carteret at once nominated him as one of his chaplains, and

being himself an excellent scholar, soon distinguished his merit in that line. He equally appreciated his conversational and social powers, often inviting him to his private parties, and sometimes, "laying his state aside, he would steal out from the castle in an hackney chair, and pass the evening at Sheridan's with Swift, and the select set which used to meet there."

The lord-lieutenant quickly bestowed upon him one of the first livings which fell into the gift of government;—it was in the south of Ireland, and worth about £150 a-year, and would probably have been but the first step to a rapid advancement in his profession, had it not been for a strange act of inadvertency, which, with him, seemed almost constitutional. Being in Cork, where he went for the purpose of being inducted into his living, he was requested by archdeacon Russel to preach for him on the following Sunday, which happened to be the first of August, the anniversary of king George's birth-day, he unfortunately, and unconsciously, selected for his text, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." The oversight was slight, but the current of faction ran high, and the long-eared zeal of party could not fail to catch at so apparently significant a coincidence. As Swift said, "he shot his fortune dead by chance-medley with this single text." The report was immediately carried to the lord-lieutenant, who, though he clearly perceived its absurdity and malice, was not in circumstances to give offence to the dominant faction, or to create suspicion by passing over the supposed offence: Swift also exerted his mediation to the utmost, but to no purpose. The unfortunate preacher was struck out of the list of chaplains to the lord-lieutenant, and he was forbidden to appear at the castle. Swift, writing to condole with him upon the subject, says, "If you are, indeed, a discarded courtier, you have reason to complain, but none at all to wonder; you are too young for many experiences to fall in your way, yet you have read enough to make you know the nature of man."

Too much advertency is not your talent, or else you had fled from that text, as from a rock. For, as Don Quixote said to Sancho, what business had you to speak of a halter in a family, where one of it was hanged? And your innocence is a protection, that wise men are ashamed to rely on, farther than with God. It is indeed against common sense to think, that you should choose such a time, when you had received a favour from the lord-lieutenant, and had reason to expect more, to discover your disloyalty in the pulpit. But what will that avail? Therefore sit down, and be quiet, and mind your business as you should do, and contract your friendships, and expect no more from man than such an animal is capable of, and you will every day find my description of Yahoos more resembling. You should think and deal with every man as a villain, without calling him so, or flying from him, or valuing him less," &c., &c. Though not agreeing with the maxim of either Rochefoucault or Swift, we give it, as being characteristic of the writer; and the remaining portion of the letter is worth transcribing, as it contains a good picture of the uncalculating and simple-minded individual to whom it is addressed. "You believe every one will acquit you of any regard to temporal in-

terest; and how came you to claim an exception from all mankind? I believe you value your temporal interest as much as any body, but you have not the art of pursuing it. You are mistaken. Domestick evils are no more within a man than others; and he, who cannot bear up against the first, will sink under the second, and in my conscience I believe this is your case; for, being of a weak constitution, in an employment precarious and tiresome, loaden with children, a man of intent and abstract thinking, enslaved by mathematicks and complaint of the world, this new weight of party malice hath struck you down like a feather on a horse's back, already loaden as far as he is able to bear. You ought to change the apostle's expression and say, I will strive to learn 'in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content.'" "I will hear none of your visions." He then, with his characteristic pointedness, lays down a set of regulations for his future conduct, for the care of his health, the limitation of his expenses, &c., &c., and adds, "You think the world has now nothing to do but to pull Mr Sheridan down, whereas it is nothing but a slap in your turn, and away. Lord Oxford once said to me on an occasion—these fools, because they hear a noise about their ears of their own making, think the whole world is full of it. When I come to town we will change all this scene, and act like men of the world. Grow rich, and you will have no enemies; go sometimes to the castle; keep fast Tickle and Balaguer (the private secretary); frequent those on the right side, friends to the present powers; drop those who are loud on the wrong party, because they know they can suffer nothing by it." In a subsequent letter he says, "Have you seen my lord? Who forbade you to preach? Are you no longer chaplain? Do you never go to the castle?" and adds, "I should fancy that the bishop of Limerick could easily satisfy his excellency, and that my lord-lieutenant believes no more of your guilt than I, and, therefore it can be nothing but to satisfy the noise of party at this juncture that he acts as he does." He then warns him not to act like the man "who hanged himself, because, going into a gaming house and winning £10,000, he lost five of it, and came away with only half his winnings."

Sheridan subsequently exchanged this southern living for that of Dunboyne, in the neighbourhood of Dublin; but by the tricks and deceptions practised upon the subject of tithes, both by gentry and farmers, on his unsuspecting nature, it became very unproductive, and scarcely yielded more than £80 per annum. He kept up a constant correspondence with Swift, full of wit and drollery on both sides, and during the period of the severe illness which closed Stella's life, he was her constant attendant and friend, and the medium of communication between her and Swift during his absence in England, when she was unable to write. He was also a witness of the last melancholy scene between Swift and Stella; of her "unspeakable agonies;" and was in the chamber when she breathed her last. His son says of him (in his life of Swift), "His grief for her loss was not perhaps inferior to the dean's. He admired her above all human beings, and loved her with a devotion as pure as that which we would pay to angels. She had early singled him out from all the dean's acquaintance as her con-

fidential friend. There grew up the closest amity between them, which subsisted, without interruption, to the time of her death. During her long illness, he never passed an hour from her which could be spared from business; and his conversation in the dean's absence was the chief cordial of her drooping spirits. Of her great regard for him Swift bears testimony, in the close of one of his letters to him from London, where he says, 'I fear, while you are reading this, you will be shedding tears at her funeral: she loved you well, and a great share of the little merit I have with you, is owing to her solicitation.' No wonder, therefore, (adds his son,) if the doctor's humanity was shocked at the last scene which he saw pass between her and the dean, and which affected him so much, that it was a long time before he could be thoroughly reconciled to him."

Sheridan, as unstable in the conduct of his affairs, as he was steady in his affections, exchanged the living of Dunboyne for the free school of Cavan, his native county, where, from its extreme cheapness, he might have lived well on his salary of £80 a-year, with the profits derived from his scholars; but the air, he complained, was moist and unwholesome, and having taken a strong antipathy to some of the persons resident in the neighbourhood, he sold his school for about £400, and having soon spent the money, he fell into bad health, and died in 1738, in the 55th year of his age.

The closing scene of his life is marked by a melancholy occurrence, which, with a sudden wrench, snapped the friendship that had existed through so many years of painful vicissitude between him and the dean. We shall give the detail nearly in the words of his son:—Swift had long been weary of the world, and all that was in it. He had no prospect of relief but from death, for which he most ardently wished, even when his state was not so bad. For some years before, he never took leave of a friend in an evening without adding, "Well, God bless you; I hope I shall never see you again." In this hopeless state, deprived of all the comforts of life, it is little wonder if he was dead also to the feelings of friendship. Dr Sheridan had been for some time confined by illness at the deanery: when he had sufficiently recovered to go abroad, he was apologizing to the dean for the trouble he had given him, saying, "I fear, Mr Dean, I have been an expensive lodger to you this bout." Upon which Mrs Whiteway, a relation of the dean's, who then chiefly managed his affairs, and who happened to be present, briskly said, "It is in your power, Doctor, easily to remedy this by removing to another lodging." Swift was silent. The poor Doctor was quite thunderstruck. As this lady had always professed great friendship for him, and lay under considerable obligations to him, he quickly inferred that this must have been done by Swift's direction, in which he was confirmed by his silence on the occasion. He immediately left the house in all that anguish of mind, which a heart, possessed of the warmest friendship, must feel, upon the abrupt breach of one of so long a standing, and so sincere on his part; nor did he ever enter it again.

He lived but a short time after this. His complaint was a polypus in the heart, which terminated, as was expected, very suddenly. His

last words were on some observation being made respecting the wind, "Let it blow east, west, north, or south, the immortal soul will take its flight to the destined point."

He married Miss Mackfadin, and was father to Thomas Sheridan, the biographer of Swift, whose gifted wife (Miss Chamberlaine,) was the authoress of "Sydney Biddulph," "Nourjahad," &c. Dr Sheridan himself published a prose translation of Persius, with notes, both by himself and former editors. Lord Cork, in writing of him, says, "He was deeply versed in the Greek and Latin languages, and in their customs and antiquities. He had that kind of good nature which absence of mind, indolence of body, and carelessness of fortune produce; and although not over-strict in his own conduct, yet he took care of the morality of his scholars, whom he sent to the university, remarkably well grounded in all kinds of classical learning, and not ill-instructed in the social duties of life. He was slovenly, indigent, and cheerful. He knew books much better than men; and he knew the value of money least of all.

* * * * *

"This ill-starred, good-natured, improvident man, returned to Dublin unhinged from all favour at court, and even banished from the castle; but still he remained a punster, a quibbler, a fiddler, and a wit. Not a day passed without a rebus, an anagram, or a madrigal." He then quotes some playful lines written by Dr Sheridan, complaining how little good had resulted from all this "strenuous idleness." Two of them (conveying the answer of Apollo), suggest some idea of his personal appearance:

———"Honest friend, I've considered your case,
Nor dislike your unmeaning and innocent face."

Unsuited both by habits and disposition for his holy profession, he was yet, in many respects, high-minded, amiable, and disinterested, and his defects belonged rather "to his darkened age" than to himself.

Dr Patrick Delany.

BORN A.D. 1686.—DIED A.D. 1765.

DR DELANY, the friend of Swift, Gay, Bolingbroke, and of the other wits of his time, was himself a man of wit and learning, and possessed of higher moral attainments than most of his gifted associates. His ancestors were of low extraction,—his father having served as a domestic in the family of Sir John Rennel, an Irish judge; and he afterwards rented a small farm, by which he was enabled to give his son the education of a gentleman. Having made a good proficiency at a common grammar-school, he entered Dublin college as a sizer, and obtained a high reputation both for good conduct and learning. He was justly celebrated as a preacher, though his compositions were more remarkable for a brilliant and excursive imagination, than for close reasoning. He was early noticed by the chancellor, Sir Constantine Phibbs, for his "learning, virtue, discre-

tion, and good sense;" but, being then a fellow of the college, the chancellor could not prevail on him to leave its quiet seclusion, or offer him any equivalent for the advantages he possessed. On the arrival of lord Carteret as lord-lieutenant, Swift, who had long been in habits of the closest intimacy with him in England, introduced his friend with a strong recommendation for his advancement in the church; and his recommendation was countenanced and supported by that of the archbishop of Dublin. Lord Carteret himself, a man of refined taste and high acquirements—or as Swift says, possessing the same "fatal turn of mind for heathenism and outlandish books and languages"—fully appreciated the charm and value of Dr Delany's society and friendship; and he quickly became almost domesticated at the castle. At this period he was a senior fellow, and between his pupils and fellowship, possessed an income of about £1000 a-year. His social and intellectual tastes were unsuited to the monastic restraints and engrossments of a college life, but met their fullest encouragement, gratification, and development, in the refined and polished circle of the court. An unfortunate dispute in which he took part, and sided with the aggressors, respecting college discipline, made his residence there still more irksome; and having given personal offence to the provost, by very unadvisedly alluding to the subject in a sermon preached in the college chapel, his subsequent preferment was thought to have been materially obstructed. In 1725, he was presented by the chapter of Christ's church to the parish of St John, in the city of Dublin; and it became necessary to obtain a royal dispensation, in order to hold this along with his fellowship. Primate Boulter, and the archbishop of Dublin interfered, and the dispensation was refused. For this interference, the primate assigns political reasons; and, speaking of Dr Delany, says, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle:—"He is a great tory, and has a great influence in these parts; and it were to be wished for his majesty's service that he might be tempted by some good country living to quit the college; but, if he has St John's with his fellowship, there can be no hopes of his removal. * * * I must, therefore, desire your Grace that if any application be made on the other side of the water, for his majesty's dispensing with the statute of the college, relating to the value of a living that may be held with a fellowship, that your Grace would get it stopped." In a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, after thanking him for refusing the faculty, and asserting that it was not out of any "ill-will to the person that he opposed it," he adds: "but I am now a little surprised with what I did not then know, that his application was not to be dispensed with from the obligation of any statute, but of an oath he had taken never to hold such a benefice." The chancellorship of Christ's church becoming subsequently vacant, and being offered to his acceptance, he was induced to resign his fellowship and take it in conjunction with a small college living,—the combined income of both scarcely exceeding £200 a-year. He, of course, calculated on certain and immediate preferment,—considering the personal regard evidenced for him on all occasions by the lord-lieutenant, along with the high recommendations he brought, a suffi-

cient warrant for such an expectation. He had, however, yet to acquire that lesson so seldom learned, not to "put trust in princes, or in any child of man; for there is no help in them." Party-spirit at this time ran very high; and moderation or neutrality was not tolerated. From not publicly and boisterously espousing the side of government, he was at once considered as belonging to the opposite ranks. A political under-current was working against him, upon which he had not calculated, and which he scarcely understood. Accustomed to a free expenditure, and being of a very benevolent disposition, he became quickly embarrassed; and though a prebend in St Patrick's Cathedral was added, it did little to extricate him,—contributing scarcely more than £100 a-year to his very limited means. He still continued an attendant and guest at the castle, "wasting good days that might be better spent;" admired, and complimented, but not provided for. In 1729, he addressed a poetical epistle to lord Carteret, in which he strongly and playfully puts forward his claims and necessities, and supposes a conversation to take place between himself and the lord-lieutenant, when

"His brow less thoughtfully unbends,
Circled with Swift and his delighted friend."

He then shows how hard it is to have his

"Titles ample; but his grain so small,
That one good vicarage is worth them all.
And very wretched sure is he that's double
In nothing but his titles and his trouble."

He concludes in answering to a supposed question as to the extent of his expectations:—

"Excuse me, good my lord, I won't be sounded,
Nor shall your favour by my wants be bounded.
My lord, I challenge nothing as my due,
Nor is it fit I should prescribe to you.
Yet this might Symmachus himself avow,
(Whose rigid rules* are antiquated now).
My lord! I'd wish to pay the debts I owe—
I'd wish besides—to build, and to bestow."

Neither this epistle, nor Swift's caustic "vindication of lord Carteret from the charge of favouring none but tories, high churchmen, and Jacobites," in the year following, appears to have had any effect.

In this defence he says, "but since the doctor has not in any of his writings, his sermons, his actions, his discourses, or his company, discovered one single principle of whig or tory; and that the lord-lieutenant still continues to admit him, I shall boldly pronounce him one of us; but, like a new freemason, who has not yet learned all the dialect of the mystery. Neither can he justly be accused of any tory doctrines; except, perhaps, some among those few, with which that wicked party was charged during the height of their power, but which have been since transferred, for the most solid reasons, to the whole body of our firmest friends."

* Symmachus, bishop of Rome, 499, made a decree, that no man should solicit for ecclesiastical preferment before the death of the incumbent.

In 1731, archbishop Boulter furnished him with the following letter of introduction to Dr Gibson of London, to whose opinion he submitted a theological work, entitled "Revelation examined with Candour; or, a fair Enquiry into the sense and use of the several Revelations expressly declared, or sufficiently implied, to be given to mankind, from the creation, as they are to be found in the Bible."

"MY LORD,

"The person who waits upon you with this, is Dr Delany, minister of one of the principal churches in this city, and one of our most celebrated preachers. He has, of late, employed his thoughts and pen in the vindication of our most holy religion, and has some thoughts of printing what he has written, if it should be thought to be of service. I knew of no person to whose judgment it was more proper to submit his performances than your lordship, who have so happily engaged yourself in the controversy, and seem to have the conduct of the defence of our most holy cause against the present most audacious insults of unbelievers. He comes over with a disposition to submit his writings, and the printing of them, to your lordship's opinion."

The work was considered at the time calculated to be useful to the cause of religion, but it was too fanciful and speculative for such a purpose. His style, also, was too florid and declamatory, more likely to dazzle than to convince; and while his writings show great ingenuity and learning, the reasoning is frequently unsound and inconclusive. In one of lord Bolingbroke's letters to Swift, he says, "It happened while I was writing this to you, the Doctor came to make me a visit from London, where I heard he was arrived some time ago: he was in haste to return, and is, I perceive, in great haste to print. He left with me eight dissertations, a small part, as I understand, of his work, and desired me to peruse, consider, and observe upon them against Monday next, when he will come down again. By what I have read of the first two, I find myself unable to serve him. The principles he reasons upon are begged in a disputation of this sort, and the manner of reasoning is by no means close and conclusive. The sole advice I could give him, in conscience, would be that which he would take ill, and not follow."

Pope adds in the same letter, and on the same paper, "Dr Delany's book is what I cannot commend so much as dean Berkeley's, though it has many things ingenuous in it, and is not deficient in the writing part: but the whole book, though he meant it *ad populum*, is, I think, purely *ad clerum*."

While in London, he married a widow lady of Irish family, possessed of a very ample fortune, by which he was enabled to exercise his generous dispositions, to gratify his taste, and indulge both his literary and hospitable inclinations. During the next ten years, he wrote and published a variety of works, amongst which was the *Life of David, King of Israel*, in which he shows much learning and critical skill, combined with great defects of style and judgment.

He had a small villa about a mile from Dublin, where he was in

the habit of collecting around him a select circle of literary friends of the highest order, among whom were Swift, Mrs Pendarves, &c. This lady writes to Swift:—"The cold weather, I suppose, has gathered together Dr Delany's set: the next time you meet, may I beg the favour to make my compliments acceptable? I recollect no entertainment with so much pleasure, as what I received from that company: it has made me sincerely lament the many hours of my life that I have lost in insignificant conversation." This lady, who, ten years after, married Dr Delany, was the widow of Alexander Pendarves, Esq., a gentleman of large property in Cornwall; and she subsequently became remarkable for the close intimacy and friendship with which she was honoured by king George III. and queen Charlotte. Her maiden name was Granville, and she was the niece of lord Granville. In 1735, Dr Delany was promoted to the deanery of Down, in the room of Dr Thomas Fletcher, who was advanced to the bishopric of Dromore. He secluded himself much from society, and withdrew from those literary meetings which had been productive of so much enjoyment to all their members. In writing to Swift, she says:—"I cannot help lamenting Dr Delany's retirement. I expected his benevolent disposition would not have suffered him to rob his friends of the pleasure and advantage of his company. If you have not power to draw him from his solitude, no other person can pretend to do it. I was in hopes the weekly meetings would have been renewed and continued. Mrs Donnellan is much disappointed, and I fear I am no longer a toast." Her friendship for Dr Delany ripened, after the death of his wife in 1741, into a still higher regard; and after nineteen years of widowhood, she was married to him in 1743. Her first marriage had not been happy; but this one, which lasted twenty-five years, was one of uninterrupted enjoyment. Her friend Mr Keate says:—"She had every virtue that could adorn the human heart, with a mind so pure and so uncontaminated by the world, that it was matter of astonishment how she could have lived in its more splendid scenes, without being tainted with one single atom of its folly or indiscretion. The strength of her understanding received in the fullest degree its polish, but its weakness never reached her. Her life was conducted by the sentiments of true piety," &c., &c.

Swift, in writing of Dr Delany, says:—"He is one of those very few within my knowledge on whom an access of fortune hath made no manner of change." After Swift's death, when lord Orrery's vile and ungenerous libel was given to the public, Dr Delany became its zealous and successful refuter; and his noble and devoted fidelity to the outraged memory of his friend makes a happy contrast to the base malignity of this moral assassin. It may be worth mentioning here, on the authority of Mr Monck Berkeley, son to the bishop of Cloyne, the anecdote which is supposed to have given rise to this unlooked-for attack. Lord Orrery having one day gained admission to Swift's library, discovered a letter of his own, written several years before, lying still unopened, and on which Swift had written, "This will keep cold." From such trifling incidents do the bitterest enmities frequently arise; and life and character have been sacrificed to appease wounded pride, or avenge ridicule.

During this period of his life, he suffered much annoyance from a protracted lawsuit respecting the property of his first wife, which, after nine years' suspense, was decided against him in the Irish court of chancery; but, on an appeal to the house of lords in England, that judgment was reversed, and the doctor was secured in his possessions. His income was, for the last twenty years of his life, about £3,000 per annum; yet he left little behind him besides books, plate, and furniture. He lived in a handsome and expensive style, but never left himself without the means of relieving distress, or rewarding merit. His simplicity of character was as remarkable as his generosity. An amusing example of this is given by his biographer. In the reign of George II., being desirous of preaching before his majesty, he obtained from the lord chamberlain, or dean of the chapel, the favour of being appointed to that office on the fifth Sunday of some month, being an extra day, not supplied *ex officio* by the chaplains. As he had not been informed of the usual etiquette on the occasion, he entered the royal chapel after the prayers began, and not knowing whither to go, crowded into the desk beside the reader. The vesturer soon after was at a loss for the preacher, till seeing a clergyman kneeling by the reader, he concluded him to be the man. Accordingly he went to him, and pulled him by the sleeve. But Dr Delany, chagrined at being interrupted in his devotions, resisted and kicked the intruder, who in vain begged of him to come out, saying "There was no text." The doctor replied that he had a text; nor could he comprehend the meaning, till the reader acquainted him that he must go into the vestry, and write down the text (as usual) for the closets. When he came into the vestry, his hand shook so much that he could not write. Mrs Delany, therefore, was sent for; but no paper was at hand. At last, on the cover of a letter, the text was transcribed by Mrs Delany, and so carried up to the king and royal family.

Dr Delany died at Bath, in May, 1768, in the eighty-third year of his age.

William Nicholson, Bishop of Derry.

SUCCEEDED A.D. 1718.—DIED A.D. 1727.

WILLIAM NICHOLSON was a native of Cumberland—he received his education in the university of Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship in Queen's College. He was preferred to the archdeaconry of Carlisle, of which see he was made bishop in 1702. It appears from a letter quoted by Harris, that he made himself very useful to the government in the rebellion of 1715; in so much that his further promotion was confidently anticipated. In 1718, he was accordingly appointed to Derry, with permission to retain Carlisle for some time further, probably till the appointment of a successor, which took place in a few months after.

Of his conduct in his diocese, we do not feel it necessary to offer any detail. He had been accused of an undue partiality to his own relations in the disposal of his patronage—a fault which those who

have patronage will mostly be found liable to commit, and which the most scrupulous will find it often difficult to avoid;—but there are certain limits and certain conditions, under which such a disposition cannot justly be censured; and it must also be confessed, that it is difficult for the most scrupulous impartiality to escape the murmur of unwarrantable expectation and invidious complaint. The censure of archbishop King, cannot, however, be thus disposed of, and seems to make out a strong case. Speaking of the deanery of Derry, he mentions that the bishop was rumoured to have gone over to England to secure it for his son-in-law, and adds, “I understand there have fallen three benefices in the diocese since he came to it; one the very best in it; another the archdeaconry; and another one of the best; these he has got for his son and two relations or friends. My lord, such proceedings will have an ill effect on the minds of both clergy, I fear, and laity, and add to that general discontent, that of late too much appears everywhere.”

In 1726, the death of archbishop Palliser made way for his promotion to the archiepiscopal see of Cashel; but he had not time to take possession when a fit of apoplexy terminated his life, 13th February, 1727, about a fortnight from his appointment.

His principal claim to a notice in this work consists in his character as a diligent and useful student of the antiquarian history of Ireland, for which he collected valuable materials, and left a useful work,—“The Irish historical library, pointing at most of the authors and records in print or manuscript, which may be useful to the compilers of a general history of Ireland.” This work was printed in Dublin, in 1724, and dedicated to William Conolly, speaker of the Irish House of Commons. He had already employed the same diligent research, and composed similar works on the ancient literary records of England and Scotland; and the whole of his labours display the industry and knowledge which such useful undertakings require. The Irish historical library has been of occasional service to this work, and may be praised as a compendious digest of the extensive and voluminous records of various denominations which are to be found either in print or manuscript on the antiquities of the country. The degree of intellectual power which can generally be brought to bear on such studies is not much, nor at the most, of a high order. The exception to this remark will be found in cases of such doubtful or contested points respecting the genuineness of an ancient MS., as must needs demand considerable sagacity and an expertness in the comparison of testimonies and in the discovery and estimation of points of fact. Of this we have already had occasion to present some striking examples, which may be found in the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. The works of archbishop Nicholson cannot claim any further honour than that which must always be conceded to searching industry and extensive learning, and may be recommended as excellent indices and guides to those whose studies are directed to the remains of antiquity. We shall hereafter have to notice the transition from the literature of this period, to that of the following, when we shall add some remarks on the subject of the work thus mentioned here. We shall only

now add, that Harris observes, that his imperfect acquaintance with the Irish language betrayed the bishop into many errors; but, at the same time praises him for the "extraordinary pains" he took in obtaining information.

Edward Synge, Archbishop of Tuam.

CONSECRATED A. D. 1714.—DIED A. D. 1741.

EDWARD SYNGE was son to Dr Synge, bishop of Cork. Bishop Mant mentions some curious particulars concerning the family, the name of which seems to have been first conferred by queen Elizabeth on one of her choir, for the sweetness of his voice. The original name appears to have been Millington.

Of this family, two brothers, George and Edward, became bishops in Ireland. The subject of this memoir was son of the latter: in 1714, he was promoted to the see of Raphoe, when in the 55th year of his age. In 1716, he was translated to Tuam.

He is to be distinguished as an antagonist of Toland, to whose infidel work, "Christianity not Mysterious," he wrote a reply.

He is also to be recollected with honour, for having resigned in favour of the clergy of his diocese the fourth part of the tithes of most of the parishes of which he possessed the title. This right, we are informed by bishop Mant, the archbishop of Tuam possessed from very early times: it was a heavy imposition on the clergy, who were deprived of two other parts by the claims of lay proprietors. As this evil had been observed long before any attempts were made for its remedy, owing to the interference of the rebellion of 1641, the measure failed with regard to Tuam. After the restoration, the three succeeding archbishops were allowed to retain possession of their fourth part; and there was no reason to suppose that any effectual interference would be further attempted. The justice and liberality of Synge freely relinquished what the petitions of the clergy, and the wishes of government, had not won from his predecessor. In the parliament next after his translation, he obtained an act, divesting himself and his successors for ever of the fourth parts hitherto claimed, and settling them on the incumbents of the respective parishes from which they were payable.

In a letter from archbishop King, to the archbishop of Canterbury, he says, after describing the wretched state of Clonfert—"The neighbouring diocese of Tuam was much in the same condition by the negligence of the former archbishops; but by placing Dr Synge in it, it begins to change its face. His Grace has gone a great way in building a manse-house, which has already cost him about £2000, and will cost him, I believe, about £1500 more, before he finishes it. He has given up the *quarta pars Episcopalis*, held by all his predecessors, and yet, by prudent management, has very little lessened the yearly revenue; and, I am persuaded, will, by the methods he prosecutes, leave it as good, if not better, than he found it; and all this without

lawsuits, and with the consent of the tenants. He has also got several new churches and cures, and is projecting more. I pray God preserve him to finish his good designs."

In 1720, when the infirmities of archbishop King prevented him from holding his visitation, he had recourse to the aid of Synge. Holding the same political principles, they were equally distrusted by the government. But the archbishop of Dublin, not willing to expose his brother prelate to the necessity of pronouncing, on his own authority, sentiments which might draw down the displeasure of the Irish government, wrote him a letter, expressive of the representations he wished to make to the clergy of the diocese. In this letter he begs to have his clergy reminded "of the late act of parliament, by which a full liberty is given to all sects to set up their meetings, and propagate what doctrines they please. By this, neither the civil nor the ecclesiastical courts have any power over them; so that we can neither help ourselves, nor call for any assistance from the civil magistrate," &c. This, with several other statements, in opposition to the policy then pursued, was put forward by the archbishop of Tuam in his charge; and he was in consequence called before the council, when, according to King, "a mighty business was made of it;" but Synge pleaded for himself so well, that the matter was let drop.

A letter of archbishop King, which bishop Mant refers to the year 1722, gives an account of the great improvements made by Synge in his diocese.

In 1730, the archbishop had the satisfaction of consecrating his eldest son for the bishoprick of Clonfert, when the consecration sermon was preached by his second son, afterwards bishop of Killaloe.

The archbishop died in 1741, and was interred in the church-yard of his own cathedral.

His writings, though not such as to demand a lengthened comment, were, nevertheless, worthy of the reputation which he maintained through life, of a scholar and a christian. Bishop Mant says of them:—"They consisted, for the most part, of small tracts written in a sensible and easy manner. A list of them, amounting in number to fifty-nine, is given by Mr Nicholl's *Literary Anecdotes of the eighteenth century*: and they are stated to have been again and again printed in large numbers by Mr Bowyer. Collected, they form four duodecimo volumes. Of the author, it has been said, that his life was as exemplary as his writings were instructive; and, that what he wrote, he believed, and what he believed, he practised."*

Hugh Boulter, Primate.

BORN A.D. 1671.—DIED A.D. 1742.

HUGH BOULTER was born in London, in 1671. He finished his education at Magdalene college in Oxford, where he was elected a demie, at the same time with Dr Wilestead, Dr Joseph Wilcox, and Addison. The

* Hist. of the Irish Church, ii. 561.

distinguished learning and ability of the four obtained for this election the name of "the golden election." Boulter obtained a fellowship in his college. On leaving it he was successively chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury; rector of St Olaves, Southwark; archdeacon of Surrey; chaplain to George I., and tutor to his grandson Frederick, prince of Wales. He was next consecrated bishop of Bristol in 1719, and at the same time obtained the deanery of Christ church, Oxford.

In 1724, he was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh, which he accepted with reluctance, at the strongly expressed desire of the king. From this period, his life, together with the general history of Irish affairs, may be traced in his letters, from which, nevertheless, we are under the necessity of drawing rather more sparingly than we might wish. His appointment was altogether a measure of government policy, with the purpose of having a person on the spot, on whose advice they could prudently rely, and to whom they might trust the weight and sanction of government-influence and authority.

The following extract, from a letter to lord Townsend, is sufficient to give the clearest conception of Boulter's political views, and of the understanding which subsisted between him and the English cabinet:—"But whatever my post is here, the only thing that can make it agreeable to me who would have been very well content with a less station in my own country, is, if I may be enabled to serve his majesty and my country here, which it will be impossible for me to do according to my wishes, if the English interest be not thoroughly supported from the other side. When I left England, I did not doubt but your lordship was sufficiently sensible how much this had been neglected for many years, and of the necessity there was of taking other measures for the future." After adverting to a few particular appointments, he goes on to say, that the English in Ireland think, "the only way to keep things quiet here, and to make them easy to the ministry is, by filling the great places with natives of England; and all we would beg is, where there is any doubt with your lordship about the consequence of a place here, that you would have the goodness to write hither to know its weight before it be disposed of." On this, one comment of bishop Mant's will save us some trouble:—"With respect, indeed, to appointments in the church, with which our subject chiefly connects us, it can hardly be supposed but that regard was had to the professional qualities of the persons advanced to its stations of dignity, emolument, and trust: the rather, because in the performance of his own pastoral duties as a parochial clergyman, he is related to have been distinguished for his zeal; and to have discharged the duties of his high office, when bishop of Bristol, with the most unremitting attention. But it is remarkable, and it is calculated to excite a sentiment of dissatisfaction and disapprobation, on perusal of the primate's letters, that very little is, in fact, said of the religious, the moral, the theological, the literary characters of those who are forward in supplying vacancies in the episcopate, and that their recommendations rest in a prominent degree on political and secular considerations.*"

The reader has already had occasion to observe the opposition of

* Hist. of the Irish Church, ii. 424.

sentiment in this respect which existed between the primate and archbishop King, who frequently expressed, in very strong terms, his jealousy on the subject of English appointments. At that period there were doubtless some strong grounds for an anxious attention to what was called the English interest; but, like all such considerations, applied with a mixture of motives, and carried beyond due limits. It was justly to be apprehended, and has actually occurred, that the same policy would be likely to survive the expediency by which it was suggested, and to be maintained when, in the course of time, it should become a grievance and an undeserved reproach. So far as our experience goes, we see no special reason to complain of the selection of the prelates of the Irish church, on any ground peculiar to the present consideration. But it must be denied that there exists any valid reason for continuing to supply the Irish church with bishops from England, however great may be their knowledge, piety, or practical efficiency. We freely acknowledge, and these memoirs largely attest, our obligations to England for numerous names which are among the lights and ornaments of their times. We would not relinquish Taylor or Bedell for the boast of nationality; but we cannot assent to the implication, that the university which has produced Usher, King, and Magee, is not now, in its maturity, adequate to the demands of the episcopacy. We would not, indeed, be thought simple enough to imagine, that any administration is guided in its choice of a bishop, mainly, by any consideration of ecclesiastical fitness. The contrary appears, not, perhaps, so much from any deficiency in the persons actually selected, as from the nearly uniform neglect of those eminently conspicuous for the qualities by which such a choice should be determined. And this error will (*so far as it is error,*) continue until the fact shall be discovered, that political prelates are no longer required for the maintenance of the civil administration in Ireland.

But to the apprehension of primate Boulter, there were present many considerations (some real, and some fallacious), not now to be seriously entertained. He saw a fiery and seemingly vital strife between opposite principles, involving the security and stability of the government; and we can acquit him of low and base views unworthy of his high station. He was far from being insensible to the duties proper to his office, and is entitled to our grateful recollection of labours and sacrifices for the benefit of the Irish Church. He was not yet settled in his new station when he noticed, and endeavoured to find a remedy for the poverty of the Irish clergy. The fund available for the relief of the poorer clergy being both miserably inadequate, and at the same time heavily encumbered, primate Boulter conceived the idea of relieving it from its encumbrances by a subscription among the bishops and clergy. This plan obtained the consent of most of the bishops; but, after very considerable exertions, was found impracticable, and accordingly dropped.

In the state letters of the primate, which are our chief materials for this notice, there may be found a very detailed view of Irish affairs through the close of this period. They are not generally of sufficient interest to warrant much expansion here. The general character of our domestic history, up to nearly the period of the union, is pretty

uniformly the same dull and stagnant interval of sober gloom. The vast convulsions of the revolution had left behind a sediment of fears and prejudices unfavourable to social progress. A distrust of the popular party induced a stringent and imperious policy towards the country, not in itself unwarranted, or inexcusable; but leading, as such a policy ever will, to oppression and injustice. No party, having adopted a principle of action, has ever yet shown a due sense of the line, at which every principle must find its proper limit. And the oversight is made more worthy of observation from the fact, that the prepossessions of parties survive the occasion, and the state of society of which they were the produce: and as they are handed down to posterity seem to lose their incidental stamp, and acquire the character of principles. Thus, also, national excitements, the result of circumstances, change first into party feeling; and, then, if too much, and too long kept up, grow into national character. On both sides, errors and prejudices take the form of transmitted instincts: but these reflections will have a more appropriate place hereafter. The primate was impressed with a sentiment of prepossession against the Irish, and the principles of the popular party, and a proportional sense of the importance of the English interest, and carried this sense to its utmost length, in his endeavours to preserve the ascendancy of the latter. This is in no way more displayed than in the vigilant circumspection with which he watched over appointments—a subject which curiously pervades all his correspondence.

The primate was not many months in Ireland when he gave his careful and sagacious attention to the affairs of the excise, and pointed out as one of the causes of the deficiency of the Irish revenue—the “fall of the customs by vast quantities of goods being run here from the Isle of Man, which is the great magazine of goods intended to be run.” He proceeds to propose the remedy which was afterwards (forty years after,) adopted against this evil. “And the only remedy we talk of here for this evil is, if his majesty were to buy the island of the earl of Derby.”

The primate's attention was also called to an abuse in the disposal of church patronage, which he explains at length in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury—it cannot be explained more clearly than by an extract from the letter. “Since my arrival here, I have met with a practice in the church, that to me seemed very odd, having heard of nothing like it in England; which is, of presbyters holding a second or third benefice in *commendam*, instead of having a faculty: the practice, I believe, was owing to my predecessors refusing a faculty where it might be thought reasonable, which made them look out for some stratagem to compass the same thing; and what they have pitched upon and practised here, has been by granting the broad seal to hold a second or third without institution or induction. That your Grace may the better understand the nature of the new tenure, I have here sent you the copy of a fiat of this sort:—

“*This fiat containeth his majesty's grant and donation of the deanery of the cathedral church of Kilmachduach, &c., now void, and in his majesty's disposal, by the death of Stephen Handcock,*

late dean thereof, unto Charles Northcote, clerk, master of arts, to have and to hold the said deanery in commendam to him, the said Charles Northcote, together with the prebend of Kilmacdonough, the rectory and vicarage of Kilmaghan, the entire rectory of Borghillam, and the vicarage of Clonfert, alias, sanctæ trinitatis, Christ Church, Newmarket, in the diocese of Cloyne, which he now holds and enjoys: and also to enter into the said deanery without institution, installation, or other solemnity: and is done according to his Grace's warrant, bearing date

"The 19th day of November, 1719.

"I have inquired whether there is any act of parliament here, that gives the crown any such power, and am assured there is none; so that I think it stands on the same bottom as a bishop taking a commendam after consecration." A little further on, he describes the practice as "no other than a sequestration of a benefice, granted by lay powers, without being accountable for the profits received, and without being charged with the cure of souls." He proposes, as a present remedy, the legal investiture of the persons holding these illegal grants, and offers to grant them the necessary faculties.

In the latter end of June, 1725, he held his first visitation; in giving an account of which to the duke of Newcastle, he mentions that he "made the Protestant dissenters in those parts easy." His charge was printed at the request of his clergy. Bishop Mant observes of it, "It is a sensible pastoral address, but contains no remarks particularly striking."

He had a dispute with archbishop King, on the subject of his right to grant licenses for marriages at uncanonical hours; a right which, being assumed to appertain exclusively to the archbishops of Armagh, was considered to be infringed when exercised by the archbishop of Dublin. By the advice, however, of the archbishop of Canterbury, and of bishop Gibson, whom he consulted, he let the matter drop.

The disturbances already related in consequence of the patent granted to Mr Wood, for the coinage of halfpence, took place at this time: and the primate expressed very strongly, in several communications, his anxiety to have the public mind quieted by the revocation of the measure. His advice must have had a principal weight with the English cabinet. A little after, when Wood surrendered the patent, and a resolution for an address was proposed in both houses of the Irish parliament, there was a sharp struggle in the lords on some words in the address: the combat was led, and chiefly maintained, on the part of the government, by the primate. The popular leaders, in thanking the king for putting an end to Wood's patent, wished at the same time to convey their sense of its merits, by carrying the point that the words "great wisdom" should be added before the words, "royal favour and condescension;" thus, according to the primate's view, which was confirmed by their speeches, casting a censure on the English cabinet. The obnoxious words were, however, rejected by a majority of twenty-one against twelve. Archbishop King was the leader of the opposite party on this occasion, and the mover of the objectionable amendment. The primate's victory was solemnized by

the burning of "an impudent poem on those debates," which came from the pen of Swift. Besides the direct advantage of having repelled an attack, the primate considered it advantageous as a fair trial of strength, of which the result would secure a peaceable session.

Among the chief subjects of interest which at this time occupied the attention of primate Boulter, were the regulation of the coins, and the occasional difficulties which occurred on questions affecting the revenue. The difficulties in the management of the house of commons, on all questions of this nature, appear to have been greater than upon any other. There seems, in 1725, to have been a heavy arrear due to the army; and a great reluctance to make it good, otherwise than by an application for the purpose of the ordinary revenue. The opposition who proposed this expedient were, with difficulty, induced to consent to a different arrangement, which having passed the house, was factiously impeded by the personal exertions of the opposition members. The agreement was, that debentures should be issued to the army, and to the officers on half-pay, for the interest of their claims: these were to pass on the security of parliament, which was to make good the payment to a certain amount. The opposition members, however, exerted themselves to deter the bankers from giving money upon these warrants.

It may be of more interest to mention that in the course of these struggles, the primate had occasion to observe, and urged strongly on government, the mischief of buying off opposition with places and other favours,—an imprudence then much resorted to, notwithstanding the obvious effect of making opposition more profitable than service, and also giving sanction to the inference of a secret leaning on the part of government against its avowed policy. This error is the more worthy of special notice, because it is the first expedient which at all times presents itself to the fears of weak or incompetent administrations. If such compacts did not necessarily involve fraud as their very basis, and were not therefore ineffective, yet it is obvious that their first real effect must be to raise a fresh and increased horde of clamourers, still more loud, to be silenced by the same means. On the other hand, we cannot equally approve of the primate's desire to visit, with the displeasure of government, those gentlemen who gave trouble to government in their place as members of parliament.

Such errors were, considering the state of Ireland at that period, of comparatively minor importance; they were mistakes inseparable from the policy which, notwithstanding all we have yet read or heard to the contrary, we must consider as imperatively required. There was, in truth, no legislative wisdom in the Irish parliament adequate to the government of a country of which the condition was anomalous, and of which the political elements were altogether discordant. There was a contention among all the classes and interests, and these were too unequally civilized to counterbalance each other in the strife. It was essential that they should be in some way overruled; but the high privileges which had been prematurely established in favour of the Irish parliament, gave an appearance of illegality, oppression, and encroachment, to steps which were vitally essential. Political know-

ledge is of tardy growth, and it was not possible that a system which involved stretches of power among its necessary resources, should not, at times, approach too near the limit of despotism. A good proof of the expediency of some such resources may be found in the history of the efforts of the primate, through many years, to remedy the state of the currency in Ireland. The case was this; there was a gross inequality in the relative prices of gold and silver,—while the gold was current at a rate above that of English and foreign exchange, that of the silver was considerably below the same standards. The consequence was, that the gold which brought a high profit in Ireland was used by bankers and agents to buy up the silver, on which a profit was again made in England and elsewhere; and all remittances to and from this country being made on the same principle, there was no silver left sufficient for the ordinary purposes of trade. As it was not possible to carry on any business without this medium, it became necessary to pay a high premium for it, being not less than eight-pence in the pound,—a deduction, from the nature of the occasion, liable to an indefinite increase. To increase the evil still more, the operation of this circumstance brought with it an inundation of light gold; and as there was a reduction of value for the deficiency of weight, it was found that the consequent loss was diminished upon coins of the higher denominations; for the defect upon one guinea being supposed equal to that on a piece worth four, it will at once be understood, that three-fourths of the loss must be saved by paying with this inconvenient coin. The primate proposed, as a remedy for these evils, the raising the value of silver to nearly the same standard with that of England, and lowering the price of gold. With this proposal most sensible persons privately agreed; but it was highly disagreeable to the money-dealing classes whose weight in the commons was preponderant. Among the mercantile classes there was, indeed, an experience of the disadvantages arising from a disordered currency; and many, in consequence, expressed themselves in favour of the measure. The house of lords, too, was favourably disposed; but their first demonstration of this temper had the effect of producing a violent excitement in the lower house. The result was a long interval of delay. In some years after, the question was again taken up by the primate, and the measure which he perseveringly pressed, was at length carried into effect. It was considered by himself and his friends, as the most honourable and praiseworthy of his services to Ireland. It should be added, that he was fiercely resisted by dean Swift and his party. It was, indeed, altogether impossible to carry any measure of real utility, without having to meet a factious opposition from the commons, who seemed to consider the entire object of their existence to be the assertion of unconstitutional privileges, and the raising impediments of every sort to the interests of peace and order. Among the many incidents of this nature which the political character of Boulter brings under our notice, was their furious opposition to a bill for preventing riots in Dublin, and the liberties; a measure of which the necessity was at the time universally felt: the chief objection was, that the bill had its origin in the privy council,—a mere pretext, when no other reason

could be found; for the authority had been fully recognised, and continually exercised without question.

But there is, perhaps, no question more illustrative of the factious composition of the house of commons and of the low character, generally, of the political honesty and wisdom of those classes with which the government had to contend, than the contest upon the question of tithes. In their legislative capacities, they exerted their whole weight to oppress the Protestant clergy, and to impede those measures of just and necessary protection, which the government determined in their behalf: finding their legislative power insufficient for the meditated outrage, they conspired in their personal and individual characters for the same unrighteous and impolitic purpose. The exorbitant rents then exacted for land had the effect of driving the Protestant tenantry in large bodies to America: this was attributed by the country gentlemen to tithes, particularly the agistment for dry cattle, the claim to which was unquestionable, and affirmed by the courts of law. The commons passed resolutions, of which the intent and effect was to prevent members from suing for their right; and actually subscribed for the defence of those who might be sued. They thought—and it is an error to which country gentlemen must always be liable—that the plunder of their spiritual instructors would be accepted as a compensation for their own exorbitant exactions, and they also hoped to come in largely as sharers in the spoil: totally overlooking the fact so clearly proved by after experience, that the demolition of any class of vested rights in property involves the common principle of all such rights; and that the tithes could not be questioned without bringing on the question of rents. In all times of modern history, a low and disreputable aspect of society is suggested by the fact, that there has always appeared, wherever it could safely be shown, an invidious feeling towards the clergy. The disregard for religion, to which it is easy to reduce it, must needs excite against the spiritual instructors of the community, an enmity which will be more or less strong as they are more sincere, and uncompromising in their vocation. But whatever may be their conduct, the infidelity of a large class will view them as useless. In this respect, there has been in our own times a very diffusive amendment in the state of society throughout the British dominions, but most of all in Ireland. Our most faithful and laborious clergy have at length a vast weight of public feeling in their favour; nevertheless, it was not until the Irish proprietary found themselves actually thrown into the same bottom, and lifted upon the same wave over the same revolutionary abyss, that the virtue of common justice seemed to be roused into existence. At the period to which our narrative refers, it may be conceived with what atrocity, untempered by any sense of right, a commons, equally incapable and unprincipled, would hunt down their prey: how, as they racked the tenantry, and persecuted the clergy, they were meditating an attack on the bishops who mainly stood between them and their lawless aims. That this was the fact, is well ascertained from the various records of the time, and it is here stated on the authority of the letters before us, as we do not wish to pursue the subject into all its petty and harassing details.

It is with more satisfaction we have to notice the first efforts for

the promotion of education among the Irish peasantry, in which the main body of the upper classes joined, and in which the primate took an active and effectual part. The history of this interesting proceeding is given with its fullest details by bishop Mant, from whose pages we shall select a few particulars. It appears to have been the suggestion of Dr Maule, who was successively dean and bishop of Cloyne. "In the year 1730, in concurrence with a parochial clergyman of Dublin, the Rev. Mr Dawson, curate of St Michan's, he put forward 'an humble proposal for obtaining his majesty's royal charter to incorporate a society for promoting Christian knowledge amongst the poor natives of the kingdom of Ireland.'"

The proposal was favourably received by the king. "And the primate of Ireland, who greatly approved of the undertaking, collected at his house, in Dublin, a large assembly of persons of rank and distinction, in order to concert measures for forming and forwarding of a petition to the king." The petition which the bishop gives at length, is "entitled the humble petition of the lord-primate, lord-chancellor, archbishops, noblemen, bishops, judges, gentry, and clergy, &c.;" and describes at length the destitute condition of most parts of the country, in regard to the knowledge of the first principles of religion and loyalty, and suggests, as the most effectual remedy, the establishment of a number of English Protestant schools. It next adverts to the efforts already made by the parish ministers to effect the same purpose, and mentions their failure, which it ascribes to the reluctance of the richer papists, and the poverty of the poorer, who were unable to pay the small stipends essential to the support of such an undertaking while it remained in private hands. The petition concludes, by praying for a charter of incorporation, enabling such persons as might seem fit to accept of gifts, benefactions, &c., &c., for the purpose designed, of erecting schools for the gratuitous education of the children of the poor. Conformably with the prayer of this petition, in 1733, letters patent were issued, by which the lord-lieutenant, chancellor, primate, &c., were constituted into a corporate body by the title of the "Incorporated Society, in Dublin, for promoting English protestant schools in Ireland."

The progress of this measure was slow; it met with insufficient liberality and zeal in its promotion, and was encountered by a vast weight of prejudice and party-feeling. Among the country gentlemen, there was then no wish for the improvement either of the mind or condition of the people. The power of exaction, and of local oppression, were best served by ignorance and barbarism; and it was too well understood, that the same qualities which made the peasantry formidable to peace and order, also placed them at the mercy of domestic tyrants. However the lawless multitude, when it rolls together like a mighty wave, may bear down all before it; it is law and settled principles only which can protect the individual.

The primate's great and persevering efforts for this truly beneficent design are to be traced in his letters, and indicate both the wisdom of the statesman, and the virtue of the patriot: a word, of which—by the way—the sense is unhappily narrowed in its true application, as it has been still more unfortunately enlarged in a fallacious sense.

We pass some other public incidents which have already been noticed in these pages, to matters more immediately relating to the personal history of the primate. There are few circumstances of his ascertained conduct more honourably conspicuous, than the persevering and earnest efforts which he made to serve his friends. Public virtue is implicated with a variety of equivocal motives, from the suspicions affecting which, it is not easy to sift the purest life. An honourable regard to humble friends who have been left behind in the ascent to greatness, is least liable to such constructions. Pride and selfishness are the besetting infirmities which cling to ambition, and their common prompting is to kick down the ladder, at every stage once gained, and to break free from the humble ties which seem affected by some lowering recollection of former equality. Such, indeed, is felt to be one of the necessary defences of all merely conventional inequality. Native superiority is independent of a resource which implies the weakness it would conceal—philosophy despises it—Christian humility shuns it as a deadly snare. Hence, the deepened humility which accompanies the elevation of the truly Christian character—the unaffected condescension of sound-headed wisdom—and the eccentric affability which the consciousness of vast and ready talents sometimes displays in its ready aptitude to enter into fearless collision with other minds. Boulter is not, perhaps, precisely to be referred to any of these; but may, perhaps, be best described as possessing, in an unusually high degree, that practical sense and energy which, better than more elevated gifts, fit a man to take a leading part in public life. His natural affections were strong, but he was little accessible to the varied influences of mere sentiment, and was rather constituted to enter deeply and earnestly into the responsibilities and cares of his position, than to be warped by its elevation. Of such a man, nothing can be more truly or pleasingly characteristic, than his persevering and importunate applications in behalf of his friend Mr Stephens. Before leaving England, he had obtained for this gentleman, who had been his friend in college, a promise of the next canonry of Christ church. After his elevation he urged the claim thus acquired, with a constancy seldom to be found, unless in those exertions which self-interest prompts. Repeated disappointments occurred from the active interference of other interests. The zealous and earnest applications which run through the correspondence of several years, while they exhibit the difficulties attendant on such efforts, as strongly attest the steadiness and energy of the primate's friendship, and show that his mind had not entered into that hollow and perfidious understanding of courtiers, that patronage is never to be too much in earnest about the claims of inferior persons. The claim of Mr Stephens, like all other claims, was long put off; but, owing to the strenuous importunity of the primate, he at last obtained a prebend in Winchester. The generosity of the primate was yet more strongly shown towards Dr Welsted, who had been his fellow-student, and had been elected demie in Oxford at the same time with him. Welsted having fallen into low circumstances in his declining years, the primate allowed him £200 a-year for the remainder of his life. After his death, he supported his son as a commoner, in the university of Oxford. With a liberal regard to the

protection of learned men, he retained Ambrose Philips, whose name is still remembered from his quarrel and imaginary rivalry with Pope, as his secretary, though we know not how far he may have merited the sarcasm, "still, to one bishop Philips seems a wit."

The life of primate Boulter, so far as it has come distinctly under our notice, is identified with the history of the country during his time; and we have here confined ourselves to this brief notice, because in part, that history is itself not of much interest, and partly because we have already noticed its most important events.

The primate was, in the highest sense, a man of business through the whole nineteen years of his primacy—the real weight of the cabinet policy, with regard to Ireland, rested on his prudence and activity. The selection of public officers, and the filling up of the vacancies which occurred upon the judicial or the episcopal bench, was mainly governed by his counsel, and according to the principle which he proposed and kept in view. With this principle we have expressed the extent of our agreement and disagreement, but entertain no question as to the perfect sincerity of the primate. His thorough honesty cannot be a matter of doubt to any one who retains the capacity to discern the ordinary indications of an honest man; and, by those who have thoroughly studied the history of Ireland, his conduct will not be questioned on the ground of wanting strong excuse in reason, prudence, and necessity. He is not, without much want of fairness, to be classed among the corrupt administrators of unequal laws, or with those who availed themselves of the fatuity of the Irish to fatten on their misfortunes. The lessons of the revolution tended to impress certain fears and precautions; and the world had not, perhaps, grown wise enough to perceive the precise extent to which those fears were just, or those precautions required. The cultivation of the English interest was, to some extent, necessary for the advancement of Ireland; it was also thought on very strong apparent grounds necessary to the security of the British throne, from claims which were yet kept alive and alert, and which had no feeble hold upon the affections of a party in Ireland. The formidable demonstrations of 1715, and 1745, indicate plainly enough that these fears were no imaginary monsters, and that the ostensible, if not true, policy demanded by the time, was the maintenance of the English interest.

The true character of Boulter is seen in the honourable munificence of his disposal of a large part of his fortune for the advantage of the country. The account of his good deeds, in this respect, is so well summed by bishop Mant, that we may abridge our labour by extracting it here. "In one respect," writes the bishop, "he evidently is entitled to high commendation; namely, that the property which he derived from the church, he employed freely, bountifully, and beneficially, for the church's purposes. Besides numerous other charitable uses of a secular kind, to which he devoted it both in England and Ireland, the following ecclesiastical benefactions especially call for notice in the present work. The cure of the city of Armagh being too burdensome for the regular ministerial provision, he placed in it an additional curate, with an especial obligation that he should celebrate divine service every Sunday afternoon, and read prayers twice

every day. To several of his clergy who were incapable of giving their children a proper education, he supplied means for maintaining their sons in the university, and thus qualifying them for future preferment. Both at Armagh, and at Drogheda, he built houses for the widows of clergymen, and purchased estates for endowing them with annual allowances. To the protestant charter schools, which, although he did not institute himself, he was mainly instrumental in establishing, he contributed considerable pecuniary assistance during his life; though the fact of his having made his will before their institution, and in the end his sudden dissolution, prevented his conferring on them any post-obituary benefactions. The bulk of his property, after a suitable provision for his widow during her life, and a few testamentary bequests, was appropriated to an amount exceeding £30,000, to the purchase of glebes for the clergy, and the augmentation and improvement of small benefices; an appropriation which, as it has been most usefully employed under the direction of the act of 29 George II. c. 10, enacted for the purpose, so has it contributed to the comfort, and respectability, and usefulness, of many of the clergy, and deserves to be cherished in perpetual and grateful remembrance by every member of the church of Ireland."

Boulter died in September, 1742, in London, in the 71st year of his age.

Thomas Parnell, Archdeacon of Clogher.

BORN A. D. 1679.—DIED A. D. 1717.

PARNELL's family is traced by his biographers to Cheshire, from whence his father, who had been a republican in the civil wars, came over to Ireland at the restoration, and being possessed of considerable wealth, purchased some property in Ireland. He also possessed an estate in Cheshire. Both of these estates descended to the son: but though we must presume them sufficient to raise him above want, yet they were not enough to set at rest a laudable desire to add to his usefulness and respectability by professional occupation.

Having entered the university of Dublin, at the early age of thirteen, he took master's degree in 1700, when he was in his twenty-first year. In the same year, though deficient in age,—the canonical age being twenty-three,—he obtained a dispensation from the primate for this purpose, and was ordained to deacon's orders by archbishop King. It is to be inferred, that his conduct was such as to elicit unusual approbation, as in no more than six years after, he was offered the vicarage of Finglass, worth £400 a year, by so strict a prelate and so able a divine, as King; this he refused in order to take the archdeaconry of Clogher from Dr St George Ashe, who had been a fellow of college, and had probably taken into consideration his merits as a scholar when in the university.

On this occasion, we are informed by bishop Mant, that he received "an excellent letter of advice on his professional and future conduct, from his friend and patron archbishop King, in whose unpublished

MS. correspondence, in Trinity college library, the letter may be found, under the date of March 6, 1706."

At the same period or nearly, he married Miss Anne Minchin, by whom he had two sons, who died without reaching maturity, and a daughter.

At the end of Queen Anne's reign, he went to London in the hope of obtaining distinction and preferment, by means of his literary and professional abilities; and at this time we find many notices of him in Swift's journals and letters. Here he not only exerted himself as a preacher, and as a political writer, but obtained ready notice as a poet, in which character he is best known to posterity. His introduction to the earl of Oxford is among the most honourable of Swift's achievements. In his journal to Stella, he mentions, "I contrived it so that the lord-treasurer came to me, and asked (I had Parnell by me), whether that was Dr Parnell, and treated him with great kindness."

It was during this visit to London that he had the unhappiness to be bereaved of his wife, whom he tenderly loved: he never recovered this afflicting blow, and so great was his sorrow at the time, that his intellect seems to have been in some degree impaired. The most grievous consequence was one which could not fail to have increased so hapless an effect; he sought a fatal refuge against the depression of his spirits in an over-free recourse to wine; and as this was one of the most besetting vices of his time, the practice was likely to grow with less interruption, from the opinion of the world, or the timely reproof of his friends.

The death of Queen Anne, and the consequent dismemberment of the tory party, put an end to his expectations from government patronage, and he returned to Ireland, where he died in 1717, at Chester, on his way home.

A selection of his poems was made by Pope, who published and dedicated them to the earl of Oxford. We can recollect to have read them some time in our boyish years; but, with one exception, retain a recollection too indistinct for the purpose of the most general criticism. Several of them are, however, distinguished by the praise of his countryman, Goldsmith; and we may express our concurrence with Dr Johnson, in saying, that "Goldsmith's criticism is seldom safe to contradict." Goldsmith bestows praise which Johnson terms "just," upon the "Rise of Woman," the "Fairy Tale," the "Pervigilinus Veneris." Other compositions, honoured with a more qualified praise, may be enumerated:—The "Battle of the Frogs and Mice," a translation from Homer; the "Bookworm," paraphrased from Beza; a "Night Piece on Death," much admired by Goldsmith; an "Allegory on Man," mentioned by Johnson as the "happiest of his performances;" and the story of the Hermit, best known to the modern reader.

Of Parnell's style, (to speak from the specimen which we can best recollect,) the most prominent merit seems to be a very rare felicity of diction. His verse dances on in the flow of the simplest and most appropriate words, aptly placed for both harmony and sense. The effect is prominently that of a musical terseness, to which we cannot at once recollect any parallel: this is, however, merely our impression. Johnson says, "in his verses, there is more happiness than

pains: he is sprightly without effort, and always delights, though he never ravishes,—everything is proper, though everything seems casual. If there is some appearance of elaboration in the ‘*Hermit*,’ the narrative, as it is less airy, is less pleasing. Of his other compositions, it is impossible to say whether they are the productions of nature, so excellent as not to want the help of art, or of art so refined as to resemble nature.”

John Sterne, Bishop of Elogher.

BORN A.D. 1660.—DIED A.D. 1745.

THE father of the worthy and eminent prelate, here to be noticed, was himself a man of no inferior note in his day for learning and talent: his mother was sister to primate Usher, at whose house he was born. He obtained a fellowship in the university of Dublin, had the honour to be ejected by the earl of Tyrconnel, and reinstated at the restoration. He was professor of physic in the university, but is said to have been more addicted to theology than medical science. He died early, and was interred in the college chapel, where a monument was raised to his memory.

His son John received also his education in the university of Dublin, where he was, most probably, under the tuition of his father. He was first preferred to the vicarage of Trim, and became afterwards chancellor and then dean of St Patrick’s. At this point we are enabled to trace his course in a variety of sources of authority, especially from the journals and correspondence of Dean Swift, with whose fortunes the main events of his life were in some degree interwoven. These notices do not amount to anything very distinct; but in truth the records of a life spent in good deeds, and in the quiet pursuits of study, demand no lengthened space: it is when there are singular fortunes, unusual combinations of character, or splendid genius to be commemorated, that a more ample scope must be taken, either to illustrate that which is peculiar, or satisfy the curiosity of mankind.

While he was dean of St Patrick’s, Sterne expended large sums on the deanery house, which he entirely rebuilt: he was a large collector of books, and formed a valuable and extensive library. He is no less celebrated for his hospitality, and won universal kindness among the inferior clergy by his open-hearted beneficence. He lived on terms of nearly domestic intimacy with Swift, to whom, it can be ascertained, his house was a constant resource in town, and his purse was freely offered, at a moment when it must have appeared important. While Swift was in London, anxiously cultivating the prospects of preferment which were held out to him by the friendship of the tory ministers, Sterne’s house was the main resource of his female friends in Ireland. But through the whole of this intimacy (so far as it can be traced,) there is perceptible in Swift a splenetic recoil from the friendship of Sterne; for which, in the absence of any distinct incident, we can only account by referring it to some characteristic antipathy. Whatever we may have thought of the genius and of the strangely al-

loyed virtues of Swift, there can be no hesitation in asserting that, as a test of reputation, his disregard must be far outweighed by the friendship and confidence of a man like archbishop King. This testimony may be found in King's letter to Swift himself, when he was appointed to the deanery, as well as in his letter to Sterne on the same occasion. The archbishop mentions Sterne as one in whose prudence and ability he had found the most efficient counsel and assistance in the responsible and difficult duties of his station; and expresses his strong conviction that he would be the best qualified person to succeed himself in the metropolitan see. This, considering the stern and severe truth of King, who was far above mixing a particle of flattery with his approbation, was high praise, and may now be called an honourable memorial.

Sterne, during the interval of his holding the deanery, expended also a large sum on the cathedral; and, on leaving it, left £1000 to build a spire.

In 1713, he was raised to the see of Dromore, under circumstances already detailed at large in our account of Swift, for whom his preferment was an arrangement to make way. While there, he rebuilt the episcopal mansion, then, with most others, in a state of ruin.

In 1717 he was translated to Clogher, made vacant by the promotion of St George Ashe to Derry. Here, too, his course was marked by liberal benefactions, and the munificence of one who looked on fortune as the means of public good: he rebuilt the bishop's palace at considerable cost; and, we should observe, that in these expensive re-edifications, there is plain proof that he was actuated by no narrow sense of personal convenience, because he left large sums for the completion of those repairs which he had not in his lifetime been able to effect.

Upon the coolness, which, during this period, arose between him and Swift we cannot here enter. It was all on Swift's side; he seems to have entertained a very lively recollection of all his own acts of kindness to Sterne, and to have forgotten every kindness which he had received—a common fault of exorbitant and exacting self-esteem.*

He died in June, 1745, in his eighty-fifth year, leaving behind a character which seldom may be equalled, and never excelled, for hospitality, munificent beneficence, and rational charity.

His bequests to the public, and to the church, are his noblest monument; they are enumerated by bishop Mant, and we shall avail ourselves here (as we have often already,) of his industry:—"The episcopal mansion-house of Dromore and Clogher, as well as the deanery-house of St Patrick's, were entirely rebuilt by him. Towards finishing the cathedral church of Clogher, if not finished by himself in his lifetime, he bequeathed £1500 or £2000, to be determined by his executors; and towards building a spire on the steeple of St Patrick's cathedral he left £1000, provided the work should be seriously undertaken within six years of his decease. To explain the catechism twice-a-week in the city of Dublin, he bequeathed an annual salary of £80 for a catechist, to be chosen three years by the beneficed clergy, and

* See his letter to Sterne in his Works, vol. xiii., or in Mant's Hist. ii. 546.

£40 for a clergyman to officiate regularly in Dr Stevens' hospital. To these may be added, a donation of £400 to the blue-coat hospital for the education of poor children; and a bequest of £100 a-year for apprenticing children of decayed clergymen. Ten exhibitions of £50 a year, intrusted to the provost and senior fellows of Trinity, testifying his desire of encouraging education in sound religion and useful learning, which was further shown by a donation of £100 to the university, for building a printing-house, and £200 more to the purchase of types. To the university also, of which he was vice-chancellor, he presented his valuable collection of manuscripts. His books—such as were not already in primate Marsh's library—he left to increase that collection; and the remainder to be sold, and the purchase-money distributed among the curates of the diocese of Clogher; at whose request, however, the books themselves were, by the bishop's executors, divided amongst them. To purchase glebes and impropriations for resident incumbents he gave £2000 to the trustees of the first-fruits, providing against the entire waste of the principal sum, by allowing only one-third of the purchased tithes to the incumbent, until the residue had replaced the principal sum expended."

No less honourable mention is made of Sterne for his scrupulous caution in the examination of candidates for holy orders, whom he examined thoroughly for a week—his examinations being conducted in the Latin tongue, in which he had the reputation of being a proficient of the first order.

His publications were composed in Latin, and obtained high contemporary praise for their utility. His treatise on the Visitation of the Sick was published in Dublin, in 1697, and is characterized by Nichols as "short but comprehensive and valuably useful." The Clarendon press have republished it in 1807: and this will be allowed no inferior test of its merits.

END OF VOL. IV.



